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A

COMPARISON OF CELTIC WORDS FOUND IN OLD ENGLISH LITERATURE AND ENGLISH DIALECTS WITH MODERN FORMS.

IN the papers lately published in the *Archæologia Cambrensis* on "The Celtic Element of the English People", some lists of words were given to shew the existence of such an element in the English language. It is proposed now to compare this class of words with the corresponding modern forms which are in use among the Celtic speaking races in Wales and Ireland. Many of these words do not vary from their modern equivalents, but in general they present a more archaic form, as if, when they were blended with the prevailing Saxon speech, they had become crystallised, and had thus escaped the process of "phonetic decay" that affects all languages, more or less, during a long course of time. When the poet Chaucer wrote, in the fourteenth century, the word which in modern Welsh is *bragawd* appears as *braket*:

"Hire mouth was swete as *braket* or the meth."

Cant. T. A., 3261.

This form is found as late as the eighteenth century:

"Now at the coffee-houses they
Do rob the hogs, selling the whey."

They also sold

"Stepony, tea or aromattick
Brunswick-mum, syder or *bracket*."

Poor Robin, 1755.

In Lancashire, where the Celtic population apparently preserved their native speech to a late period, the form is *bragget* or *bragot*, approaching more nearly the modern Welsh. This form is used by Ben Jonson :

"And we have served there, armed all in ale,
With the brown bowl, and charged in *bragget* stale."

Masque of Gipsies, vi, p. 78.

The form of the word in the *Gododin* is *bracaut*, to which the Irish *bracat* (malt liquor) corresponds.

Another Celtic word, *mok*, is found in a mediæval religious poem :

"For (because) eueri *mok* most into myre
Prye we to God ur soules enspire."

Phil. Trans., 1858, p. 132.

The Editor, Mr. Furnivall, is unable to explain the word. It is the W. *moch*, a generic word for pigs, as the Corn. and Arm. *moch*. The Ir. Gael. form is *muc*, a sow or pig. The Manx *muc* means a sow only. The reference is to the passage in 2 Pet. ii, 22, "The dog is turned to his own vomit again, and the sow that was washed to her wallowing in the mire." Hence it may be assumed that in the seventh or eighth century, when the Celtic tribes in Loegria were beginning to blend with their Saxon conquerors, the *tenuis* was used where the aspirate now appears ; and that the word denoted a single animal, as the Ir. Gael. *muc*, without the use of a suffix.

In the county of Lancaster, which Lappenberg has declared to be the most Celtic county in England, when water, after flowing down in a stream, begins to fall in drops, it is said to *per*. This may be equated with the Arm. *bera*, to fall in drops, to distil ; *berad*, a drop, a falling drop ; W. *di-feru*, to drop, to drizzle (*destillare*, Dav.) ; derived by Pryse from *di* and *meru*, though he

has the verb *beru*, to drop, to ooze. It may be a question whether a primitive *b* has been changed by provection into *p* in this case, or the original anlaut (initial sound) has been retained. The latter opinion is, I think, the more probable,—(1), because I have never met with an instance of an undoubted change to *p* from a primitive *b* in any Lancashire word; and (2), the Sans. *prish*, to bedew; *prishat*, a drop of rain, a drop, are in favour of the assumption that *p* was the primary initial letter. Pictet has given some instances of Sans. *p* represented in the Celtic languages by *b*. To these may be added the English *pan* (a slang term for money) compared with the Irish *ban*, copper; *banna*, a half-penny; *bunn*, a piece of money (the *a* sound becoming *u*, as in Sanskrit); and the Sans. *para*, a copper coin.¹

The preservation of the primary meaning of a word is shewn in our dialectic word *clan*. In the north-east of England it is commonly used, but not to denote a multitude of families united in a sept or tribe. It has retained its primitive meaning of family. A man is said to have “a girt (great) *clan* o’ bairns.” In Irish and Gaelic dictionaries we find “*clann*, *cland*, children, descendants, a tribe”; but the first is the original meaning (cf. W. *plant*, children). In the index to the *Book of Deir*, written in the ninth century, *clann* is glossed by Mr. W. Stokes as *proles*. (*Goidelica*, p. 116.)

In the Gloucestershire word *sallis* (hog’s lard) there is a retention of an ancient word-form, or of an archaic grammatical form. The modern word in Irish, Gaelic, and Manx, is *saill* (fat, bacon, lard); and this represents a more ancient *salli*, the diphthong being formed by a well known Irish and Gaelic rule. But at the time when the Celtic population in this county was beginning to blend with the prevailing Teutonic race, not only was this older form preserved, but the word appears to retain an old case-form. We may compare it with the Sans. *agni*, which becomes *agnis* when it is

¹ In the Pali language, a dialect of the Sanskrit, *pano* means a sum of money; also wages, wealth.

the subject of an action or predicate, and with the Ir. *súil* (eye), which represents a prehistoric *súlis* (Windisch, *Rev. Celt.*, iii, 325). We learn from this word *sallis*, that the Celtic population in Gloucestershire was not Cymric, or that the word has passed away from the Welsh language without leaving any trace of a past existence there. It belongs to the great Indo-European, or Aryan, stock, being related to the Sans. *sāra*, butter or marrow.

In general, however, the Celtic words in the English language have become subject to Teutonic grammatical forms. Thus in Derbyshire, when a horse rears and curvets, this action is called *cawming* (W. *camu*, to bend, to curve). In the dialect of Leeds it is called *rawming* (W. *rhamu* ?) The Germ. *räumen* means to remove, to put away, or to quit. Both these words have the broad sound of the *a* which is used in Ireland, but is, I believe, not common in Wales. (See Donovan's *Ir. Gram.*, p. 10.) It has sometimes the same sound in our English speech, generally before the liquids, as in *ball*, *tall*, *warm*, and other words. It is much more common in our dialectic speech, and appears to be a sign of the Celtic element in the English people.

The word *cam* appears in the Lancashire dialect, and some years ago was commonly used by all classes. It is pronounced as in Wales. But when it becomes a verb it is conjugated as one of the Teutonic weak or expanded class. Its meaning is to be or to make crooked, awry. It is said of one that had a habit of wearing the heels of his boots unevenly, that "he *cammed* (*camd*) his heels." Fick, in his *Verg. Wört.* (ii, 52), assumes a primary Aryan form, *kam* (to bend or curve), with which he connects the Gr. *κάμπτω*, and the Sans. *kamp*, to tremble, to move up and down; but he omits the Celtic *cam* or *camm*, which represents an older *cam*, as in *Cambodunum*.¹

¹ The Sans. *kambu*, a shell, a bracelet, a neck, a vein, etc., has preserved more nearly the primary meaning, for all the objects which it denotes are of a winding or circling form.

We may infer, from many indications, that along the whole of the western line the blending of the two races was not completed until a comparatively late date, and that many Celtic communities lived apart from their Teutonic neighbours, preserving their native speech and some of their native customs long after the Saxon conquest. Such place-names as Welsh Bicknor in Herefordshire, Welsh Hampton in Shropshire, and Welsh Whitton in Lancashire, indicate that a Celtic population long preserved its separate nationality in these places. Such instances are not rare. From the preservation of a German dialect in the *Sette Comuni* of Verona and the *Tredici Comuni* of Vicenza; the existence of many Latin words and forms in the language of Wallachia; the long continuance of a Saxon tongue in the barony of Forth, co. Wexford, due to a settlement there of Saxons and Flemings in the twelfth century,—we have proofs of the fact that a separate race, retaining its own language, may continue for centuries unaffected by the surrounding races. Eventually the barrier-walls are broken down, and a fusion of these separate peoples is effected; but traces of the absorbed race have invariably been found in the language of the united people. When one race has become subject to another, the words of the subject race that may survive the fusion of the peoples will rather belong to the homely class than to the higher departments of law or religion. They will be found in the language of the streets; but not so frequently in the more exclusive walks of literature, or in the solemnities of a religious creed. In those parts of Ireland where the English language now prevails, many words are used in common speech that have been drawn from the old Celtic tongue, and a few appear in the pages of the poet Spenser and other writers. The same result followed when the two races were blended in England. A large number of Celtic words remains still in the common language, and some are found in its more refined or more exclusive part. This fact is now beginning to force itself into view.

In Professor Skeat's excellent *Etymological Dictionary*, now in course of publication, a considerable number of words may be found which are referred to a Celtic source, though hitherto accounted as part of the heritage of the Saxons or Angles who adopted them. We may hope that the old theory, often repeated, of the complete destruction or banishment of the Celtic races in England by their Saxon conquerors, and the assumption that no words of Celtic origin remain in our English speech, may be consigned to the region of exploded fancies; to that "windy sea of land" where, on the authority of Milton, are found

"Both all things vain, and all who in vain things
Build their fond hopes of fame."

P. L., iii, 448.

The inquiry before us does not extend beyond the question whether the words adduced are or have been in use among the Celtic tribes in Wales and elsewhere. The question, however, of their native origin is one of some importance to every one who is connected with the Celtic race. "Every nation", says De Quincy, "has reason to feel interested in the pretensions of its own native language; in the original quality of that language, or characteristic *kind* of its powers, and in the particular *degree* of its expansions."¹ The pretensions of the Celtic languages will receive some support, in this respect, by our investigations; at least it will appear that they contributed a large class of words to the common English stock in the sixth and seventh centuries of our era. Some of these words were certainly received from the Roman conquerors; but many words of this class came to the Teutonic tribes through a Celtic medium. If the claims of the Celtic languages have sometimes been pushed too far, there has been, for a long time, a reaction against them both in France and England, which has gone, I think, beyond the bounds of a sound philology. Some jealousy of race,

¹ *Essay on Language*, p. 78.

not always inexcusable, will probably continue to affect these inquiries. German scholars are generally disposed to rush to arms if any German word is assumed to be borrowed. I have read an indignant argument, the design of which was to prove that the word *dun* (Ir. *dun*, W. *din*), found in some German place-names, belonged to the Teutonic race; and Bacmeister stoutly maintains that the German *zinn* (tin) is the original source of the English word, and even of the Latin *stannum*; though he is somewhat puzzled by the fact, which he admits, that all the mines known to Europe at an early date were on Celtic ground.¹ It is not necessary, however, that our pride or jealousy of race should lead us to cherish illusions. Sooner or later truth will prevail; and if I am not mistaken, the result of a careful and unimpassioned inquiry will be to prove that the English language and the English race have been more affected by Celtic elements, as the late Mr. Kemble surmised, than our Anglo-Saxon scholars have been willing to allow. Our German neighbours have sometimes been confuted by their own researches. "The engineer has been hoist with his own petard." The laws of letter-change (*lautverschiebung*) established by Grimm prove that many German words have certainly been borrowed. All civilised nations have such words in their vocabularies: they are a necessity as knowledge increases. But it is a legitimate object or pursuit to determine, by scientific means, what part of a language is native to the soil, and what has been imported from other lands, or received from other races.

The words that have appeared in the lists which form a part of the papers on the Celtic element of the English people, and those which are referred by Prof. Skeat to a Celtic source, will not be used in this paper, with one or two exceptions. The words of the latter class have been in my collection for many years; but as a selection must be made, I prefer to occupy new ground.

¹ *Keltische Briefe*, p. 22.

The Welsh language will be generally used as the basis of comparison when the particular word has an equivalent in Welsh. The authority to which I shall refer, for the most part, is Pryse's edition of Dr. Pugh's Dictionary; for the Irish words, O'Reilly's Dictionary, and the Glossary lately put forth by Windisch. In the transliteration of Sanskrit words, the system of Prof. Whitney will be used.

CLASS I.

WORDS CORRESPONDING IN CONSONANTAL, AND CHIEFLY IN VOWEL, SOUNDS.

ENGLISH.	CELTIC.
<i>Anan</i> , what? What do you say?	O. W. <i>nan</i> , what? what now?
<i>Nan</i> , id. (Sussex), W.	

An amusing story is told of the late Dr. Clarke, the traveller. He was taking a stroll in the west of England, and went into a cottage to ask the nearest way to some place which he wished to see. He asked an old woman who was seated near the fire to direct him. Not understanding his questions, she only replied by saying "Nan." Thinking that she meant to call a daughter of that name, he went to the foot of the staircase, and called out lustily, "Nan!" The old woman, thinking that he was a madman, rushed out of the house; and the Doctor rushed after her, thinking that *she* was mad. The old lady took refuge in a neighbouring house, closing the door behind her, and the Doctor was obliged to find his way as he could.

<i>Argy</i> , a dam, an embankment (Salop, Hants)	<i>W. argae</i> , a dam, a lock in a river; <i>clausum</i> , <i>clausura</i> (Dav.)
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A place near Kinnerley, a raised bank with a plantation of poplars and other trees, is called by the people of that neighbourhood the *Argy*. (Miss Jackson's *Word-Book*.) Hartshorne mentions another bank, near Melverley, "made to resist the overflowings of the Severn", which is also called the *Argy*. Many such Celtic names are used by our peasantry. In the neighbourhood of Leeds there is a large mound of stones which the

country people call *Pompocali*, which a Celtic scholar can easily interpret. The central or old part of the village of Elm, in Cambridgeshire, was always called by the labouring class the *Gualtry*. It was near the great embankment that once kept in the waters of the Wash, which extended long ago so far inland.

ENGLISH.	CELTIC.
<i>Atle</i> , rubbish, refuse, detritus. A miner's word (W.)	Corn. <i>attal</i> , W. <i>adhail</i> , refuse, waste; Gael. <i>athar</i> , dregs, refuse
<i>Aven</i> , promise, appearance. "The <i>aven</i> of a fine colt" (Sal.)	Arm. <i>aven</i> , figure; Corn. <i>avain</i> , image, form (Zeuss, 1110)
<i>Baban</i> , an infant	Ir., Gael., W., <i>baban</i> , a young child
<i>Babbon</i> , a babe, a doll (Levins)	Arm. <i>babik</i> , "petit enfant à la nourrice"

Baban is found in the *Ancren Riivle* (p. 234), which was written in the first part of the thirteenth century.

<i>Bam</i> , v., to mock jestingly, to delude; s., a false, mocking tale, a jibe	Arm. <i>bam-ein</i> , enchanter, endormir par des contes, tromper; Ir. Gael. <i>beum</i> , a stroke, a taunt; Corn. <i>bom</i> , a blow.
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"There is some conspiracy, I suppose, to *bam*, to chouse me out of my money." (*The Cozeners*, iii, 2, Foote.) "To relieve the tedium he kept plying them with all manner of *bams*." (Prof. Wilson.) In Lincolnshire, a *bambary* tale is a story that cannot be relied on as true. *Bary* seems to be related to the Gael. *beurra*, pron. *bārra*, eloquent, witty; *beurran*, a witty, garrulous fellow. Ir. *beurla*, speech, language; *beurla feine*, the language of the old Irish laws.

<i>Beale</i> , a den, a cave; a <i>beale</i> , den, "spelunca" (Levins)	Ir. Gael. <i>beal</i> (pron. <i>bale</i>), a mouth, a hole, a den; <i>bealach</i> , a gap, a pass; Manx, <i>beal</i> , a mouth, a pit; W. <i>bil</i> , mouth of a vessel.
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The Ir. *béal* or *bél* is often used in place-names. (See Joyce, *Irish Names of Places*, i, 237.)

<i>Ben</i> , the name given to the figure of a woman dressed up with ribands, etc., and set on the top of the last load of harvest, immediately in front; a kind of Ceres (<i>Norf. E.</i>)	Ir. Gael. <i>ben</i> , <i>bean</i> , a woman, a lady; Manx, <i>ben</i> , a female; Corn. <i>ben</i> ; W. <i>ben-en</i> , a woman. A term of respect, probably connected with Sans. <i>vanita</i> , woman, wife; <i>van</i> , to honour, to desire.
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Strabo says that the ancient Britons worshipped Ceres and Proserpine more than any other deities. (See Camden's *Brit.*, p. xix). There is here a relic of the old heathen worship. In Henderson's *Folk-Lore of the Northern Counties* there is an interesting account of this harvest custom as practised in Northumberland. "The image is crowned with wheat-ears, and dressed up in gay finery, a white frock and coloured ribbons being its conventional attire. The whole group circle round this harvest-queen, curtsying to her, and dancing and singing; and thus they proceed to the farmer's barn, where they set the image up on high as the presiding goddess of their revels, and proceed to do justice to the harvest-supper." (P. 66.) Other such customs still survive, or were common in the last century. Bailey tells us (vol. ii, ed. 1776) that the country people on Malvern Hills, when they wanted a wind to fan their corn, invoked Youl (*Æolus*?) to send one. He says also that "the common people in some counties in England are accustomed, at the prime of the moon, to say, 'It is a fine moon. God bless her!'" And that it is a custom in Scotland (particularly in the Highlands) for the women to make a curtsy to the new moon." He adds, "some English women do still retain a touch of this gentilism, who, getting upon and sitting astride on a gate or stile the first night of a moon, say

'All hail to the moon! All hail to thee!
I prithee, good moon, declare to me
This night who my husband shall be.'"

Dict., s. v. "Youl" and "Moon".

ENGLISH.

Bidowe, a short sword

CELTIC.

W. *bidog*, a hanger, a short sword;
"ensiculus, gladiolus, sica" (Dav.);
bid-an, a small branch; a twig;
Arm. *bid*, a point; Ir. *bideog*; Gael,
biodag (*bidag*), a dagger, a dirk;
Manx, *biddag*, a dagger

"Ac now is Religioun a ridere, And a rennere aboute,
A *bidowe* or a biselard He berith at his side."

Piers Ploughman.

Roquefort has "*bidoux*, corps de mauvaise infanterie,

qui combattoit avec des lances"; but the Eng. *bidowe* was not a lance.

ENGLISH.

Blith, yielding milk, profitable (Phillips)

Bran, a name for the carrion crow, *corvus corone*

CELTIC.

W. *blith*, milk, giving milk; metaphorically, what is profitable; "lactans, lac præbens; et metaph., quicquid commodum alicui affert" (Dav.)

W., Arm., Corn., *bran*, a crow; Ir. Gael. *bran*, a raven, a rook; Ir. Gael. Manx, *bran*, black.

"*C. corone*, the carrion crow, gor crow, black crow, corby crow, hoody, *bran*." (Eng. Enc., s. v. "Corvus.") The Welsh term is, I believe, generic, but in England it has become the name of a single species. *Bran*, with the meaning of black, is found in the hybrid word *bran-wyrt*, a blackberry. (Bosworth's *A. S. Dict.*)

Bur, *bire*, force, impetuosity, any force or impetus (N. Br.), a sudden hurry (Cumb.)

W. *bur*, violence, rage (marked by Pryse as obsolete); *bar*, indignation, wrath; Arm. *broez*, emportement, mouvement de colère qui passe vite; Ir. *bara*, anger

"Then the gome in the grene graythed hym swythe
Gederes vp hys grymme tole, Gawayn to smyte
With alle the *bur* in his body he ber hit on lofte."

Sir Gawayne, 2259-61.

"Then is better to abyde the *bur* umbe-stoundes (sometimes)
Then ay throw forth my thro (anger) thay me (men) thynk ylle."
Allit. Poems (E. E. T. S.), 7, 8.

"And with a great *bire* the flok was cast down into the see." (Wicliffe's *Trans.*, Mark v, 13.) Stratmann compares the Eng. *bur* with O. N. *byrr*, "ventus secundus", but this meaning does not suit the passages quoted.

Cambren, a crooked stick which butchers use to hang sheep or calves on when they dress them. (Blount, Phillips)

Cambrel, id.

W., Ir., Gael., *cam*, crooked, and W. *pren*, *bren*, wood

"From British *cam*, crooked, and *pren*, a stick." (Blount.)

Carns, stones. (Coles, Bailey.) *Carnilate*, to build stone houses. (Harrison, Desc. of Eng.)

Ir., Gael., *carn*, a rock, a heap of stones; W. *carn*, a heap of stones, Ir. *carnail*, a mote of stones

ENGLISH.

Cat, a small piece of wood used in the game of bandy, a small cutting of stick, a chump of claystone (Dorset, N.)

"The *cat* is about six inches in length, and an inch and a half, or two inches, in diameter, and diminished from the middle to both ends, in the manner of a double cube." (*Sports and Pastimes*, 101, N.) *Cat* and trap (the play), "*ludus buxi et baculi*." (Coles, *Eng. Lat. Dict.*)

Cawl, to do anything awkwardly (N. H.), to make a mess of it

Chynge, a discharge from the body; "reuma, chynge" (*E. Eng. Voc.*, i, 267)

Col, false, deceitful; in the hybrid words, *col-fox*, a cunning fox; *col-knife*, a treacherous knife; *col-prophet*, a false prophet

CELTIC.

W. *cat*, a piece, a fragment, "*frustulum, particula*" (Dav.); *chware-cat*, the game of bandy; Sans. *khanda*, a piece, a fragment

W. *cawlio*, to mix about, to turn about disorderly, to make a hodge-podge

Manx, *ching (ting)*, a sore, an ulcer; adj., sick, diseased; Ir. Gael. *tinn*, sick; *tinneas*, a malady

Ir. *col*, falsehood, treachery, deceit; "*col, i. e., feall*", falsehood, deceit; (O. Ir. Gloss.) Gael., *col*, sin, a crime; W. Corn., *call*, cunning; Sans. *kali*, deceit, fraud.

"A *col-fox*, full of sleigh iniquité."

Chaucer, "The Nonnes Tale."

"Whereby I found I was the heartless hare,
And not the beast *col-prophets* did declare."

Mirr. for Mag., ii, 74.

Com, a clay marble (Lanc.)

W. *com*, a round, a curve; Ir. Gael. *com*, a round form, as a waist, the trunk of the body, an entrail

Coomb, the hollow space at the junction of the main branches with the trunk of a tree. (N. Hamp. B.)

W. *cwm*, O. W. *cwmb*, Arm. *komb*, a hollow, a valley

Crithe, a small push or swelling growing over the eyebrows (Kersey)

O. Ir. *creithi*, ulcera; *creachd*, an ulcer (Z. 172); W. *craith*, a scar

Cro, a bar, a lever (N. H.)

Ir. Gael. *cro*, *crodh*, an iron bar; Manx, *craue*, a lever to lift up stones.

"Pince, a *croe*, great barre or lever of iron." (Cotgrave.)

Crobs, *crob-lambs*, the worst of the flock (Cumb. F.)

W. *crob*, what is shrunk into a round heap; *crybwch*, what is shrunk or crinkled up; Ir. Gael. *crub*, to crouch, to cringe; Manx, *crubbagh*, shrunk, shrivelled

Cull, to pull, to enforce (Coles), to push or strike; s., a blow

Ir. Gael. *cul*, to push, to shove, to thrust; Ir. *cuiltse*, a beating; Sans. *kal*, to go, to advance; (causal form), to throw

The "cul of the eaz." (*Ancren Riwele*, 128.)

"Ofte me (men) hine smæt, mid smærte gerden,
Ofte me hinde *culde*."

Layamon's *Brut*, ii, 429.

The editor, Sir F. Madden, translates the word *struck* (?) doubtfully.

ENGLISH.

Dad, a piece (*N. H.*); Friesic, *dodd*, a lump

Dag, a small, projecting stump of a tree (*Dorset, H.*), a sharp, sudden pain (*Beds., Leeds*)

Dallar, to dress in a great variety of colours (*Linc., H.*)

{ *Deeary*, small, puny. "A deeary bairn" (*Whitby*)
{ *Deary*, small, diminutive. "A deary bit" (*Linc. Br.*)

Dill, to complete, to finish (*Cumb. H.*)

Dog, a part

CELTIC.

Ir. *dad*, somewhat, a small piece; Gael. *dud*, a small lump

Arm. *dag*, a dagger, a stiletto; *dagi*, to strike with a sharp-pointed instrument (*Fr. dague*); "*dac*, pugio ou c'est badalaire", a short sword (*Catholicon, Le Men*); O. W. *taig* (*tagi*), a nail, a peg; Ir. Gael. *tac*, a nail, a peg

Ir. *dallr*, to gleam, to dazzle; Gael. *deallair*, to shine, to gleam; Ir. Gael. *dealradh*, brightness, splendour; Manx, *dallagh*, dazzling

Ir. Gael. *dearoil, direoil*, poor, little, mean; Ir. *dèr*, small

W. *dil*, work; *dilin*, worked, wrought; *dilio*, to work; Arm. *dilo*, activity

W. *dog, dogn*, a share, a due quantity, a piece; "demensum, quantitas debita" (*Dav.*)

"When a part only of the moon can be seen, it is called a *dog*." (*Furness, Gl.*) This is also a boy's term. "A party of two or three playing at marbles, and putting two, or three, or more, in the ring, he who knocks out the number he put in is said to have 'got his *doogs*'." (*Moor, Suff. Gl.*) The word *donks* is also used with the same meaning.

Dos, a master (*N. H.*); sometimes pron. *joss*

Ir. *dos*, a nobleman, a hero; Ir. Gael. *dos*, a tuft; O. Ir. *doss*, name of a certain grade of poets (*M'Cor-mack's Gl.*, p. 15); Manx, *tosh*, principal, chief

The word *doss* is used in Suffolk for a tuft of grass. Whithals, in his Dictionary (1553), has *dosnel* (Ir. Gael. *dosan*, a tuft), meaning tufted or plumed. "The *dosnel* dawcock comes dropping in among the doctors."

ENGLISH.	CELTIC.
<i>Drill</i> , to tickle down (Nares), to drain, to percolate (Webs.); a small draught of liquor (H.)	Ir. Gael. <i>dril</i> , a drop; <i>drill</i> , to drop; Ir. Gael. <i>driog</i> ; Manx, <i>drig</i> , a drop, a tear

"*Drylle*, or *lytyle* drafte of drynke; "*haustillus*".
(*Prom. Parv.*)

"With that, swift watery drops *drill* from his eye."
Heywood (Nares).

<i>Duff</i> , a dark coloured clay (Kent, H.); coal-dust (N., Wr.)	Ir. Gael. <i>dubh</i> , dark, black; W. <i>du</i> black
<i>Ever</i> , the ray-grass (Dev., H.); <i>ever</i> , rye-grass, or darnel (Dev., H.); <i>every</i> , a species of grass (W., H.); rye-grass, " <i>lolium perenne</i> " (Dors.)	W. <i>efr</i> , Corn. <i>efer</i> , darnel, the ray or rye-grass
<i>Elk</i> , a species of bird, the wild swan or hooper, " <i>cygnus ferus</i> " (Webs.); Germ. <i>alk</i> , the auk or scout	W. <i>alcys</i> , wild swans, " <i>cygnus sylvestris</i> " (Dav.); Ir. Gael. <i>eala</i> , O. Ir. <i>ela</i> , a swan
<i>Falc</i> , a barren place (?)	Ir. Gael. <i>falc</i> , sterility, barrenness from drought; adj., barren, dry; Manx, <i>volgey</i> , to roast, to parch

"i spend an marrit is mi main, as *falc* i falow an felde."
E. Eng. Poem, Phil. Soc., 1859.

Mr. Furnivall, the editor, supposes a plant to be meant, but more probably a dry, barren place in a field.

<i>Fell</i> , cautious, discreet, clever, crafty (N. H.); A. S., <i>fell</i> , cruel, severe	W. <i>ffel</i> , Corn. <i>fel</i> , wily, subtle, cunning; Ir. <i>fileoir</i> , a crafty man
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"And loke thou be wyse and *felle*,
And therto also that thow gouerne the (thee) *welle*."

Babees Book, p. 13.

<i>Fell</i> . "A workman will say that if he cannot complete his work he will not catch a <i>fell</i> this week." He takes a <i>fell</i> when he has completed a job. (Nhamp. B.)	O. Ir. <i>fél</i> , a festival, a holiday (<i>Ir. Gloss.</i> , p. 70); Ir. Gael. <i>feil</i> (id.); Manx, <i>feecail</i> , a feast, a vigil; W. <i>gwyl</i> , a holiday, a festival
<i>Fise</i> , a witch or wizard	Ir. <i>fise</i> , a seer, a sorcerer; Ir. Gael. <i>fios</i> , knowledge; Manx, <i>fys</i> , knowledge; <i>fyssee</i> , a sorcerer

"But be that senstere (sempstress) ded, Mary that *fise*,
We shall brenne here body, and the aschis hide."

Cov. Myst., p. 385.

<i>Frith</i> ,—"a plain between woods" (Kersey, Blount); unused pasture-land (Lanc.), a field taken from a wood (Craven)	W. <i>frith</i> , a forest, a plantation, woodland; Ir. <i>frith</i> , a wild, mountainous place; Gael. <i>frith</i> , a forest
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"Out of forest and *frithes* and all faire wodes."

Will. and the Werw., p. 80.

"All that eyr his lond with-held
Frithe or forest, towne or filde,
 With tresur owte bogte hæ."

Sir Amadace, p. 56.

"ðonon anlag mearce...æt ðære baran *fyrhðe*" (thence along the boundary to the bare or open frith).—Kemble, *Cod. Dipl.*, iii, 130. "This is the British *Frith*."—Kemble.

ENGLISH.

Gain, a bevelled shoulder of a binding joist (Webbs.); the levelling shoulder of the joist, or other timber (Bailey)

Gare, a rough kind of wool that grows about the shanks of sheep (Bailey)

Garm, a loud noise, an outcry

CELTIC.

W. *gàn*, a mortise; Arm. *genn*, coin, "pièce de bois ou de fer taillée en angle aigu"; W. *gaing*, Ir. Gael. *geinn*, a wedge

Ir. Gael. *gèr*, *gear*; W. *garw*, rough, coarse; Manx, *garroo*, rough

W., Arm., Corn., *garm*, a cry, a shout, an outcry; Ir. Gael. *gairm*, id.

"Such a gomerly (sad) *garm* of gelling ther rysed
 Therof clatered the cloudeas that kryst mygt haf rawthe."

Allit. Poems, p. 67.

There is a related word, *gaure*, to cry, to shout (H.); sometimes in the form *garr*, to cry, to chirp; O. H. G., *kerren*, to chatter

Gingran, the stinking toad-flax

W. *gawr*, a cry; *gawri*, to shout; Ir. *gair*, to call, shout, bawl; Sans. *grî*, to sing, to cry out

W. *gingroen*, the stinking toad-flax ("antirrhinum linaria", P.). Davies (*Welsh Bot.*) says that the W. *gingroen* is the stinking morel ("phallus impudicus"), and that the toad-flax is called *gingroen fechan*

"Reason is an excellent limbeck, and will extract rare quintessences; but if you put in nothing but mushrooms, or egg-shells, or the juice of coloquintada, or the filthy *gingran*, you must expect productions accordingly, useless or unpleasant, dangerous or damnable." (Bp. Jer. Taylor, *Duct. Dub.*, i, ii, 32.)

{ *Glave*, smooth, polite (N. Br.)
 { *Glaver*, to flatter
 { *Glavver*, to talk endearingly (Whitby, E. D. S.); A. S., *gliwere*, a flatterer

W. *glaf*, smooth, glistening; *glafu*, to flatter; Ir. Gael. *glafar*, chatter

"That takes not her lyf in vayne,
 Ne *glaueres* her neighbor wyth no gyle."

Allit. Poems, p. 21.

" 'Sir,' sais 'Syr Gawayne, 'so me God helpe,
Sich *glaverande* gomes greves me bot lytille,' "

Morte Art., p. 212.

In the Irish use :

"Thenne suche a *glaueraunde* glam (Ir. *glam*) of gedered rachches
Ros, that the rocheres rungen aboute." (Sir Gawayne, p. 46.)

ENGLISH.

Glen, a secluded valley ; *glyn*, id.

CELTIC.

W. *glyn*, Corn. *glen*. Ir. *gleann*, a valley

"And woos the widow's daughter of the *glen*." (Spenser.)

Grig, the herb called heath' (Salop, J., Chesh.)

W. *grug* (pron. *grig*), Corn. *grig*, heath

Guary, *garye*, a play, a dramatic entertainment

Corn. *gwary*, W. *chwarr*, sport, pastime, a play, Arm. *choari*, game, amusement

"This ys on of Brytayne layes
That was used by olde dayes.
Men callys playn the *garye*."

Emaré, 1032, H.

Guillam, the name of a bird (Ash, Bailey), the guillemot, *Uria Troile*

W. *gwilym*, a bird ; "avis quædam" (Dav.)

"This species is the *gwilym* and *chwilog* (the latter term applicable to the state in which Pennant calls it the lesser guillemot) of the Welsh, and is called *willock* in the south of England, *skout* in Yorkshire, and *kiddaw* in Cornwall." (*Eng. Enc.*, N. S., iv, 1122.) The name is derived from "the sharp and rapid flight" of the bird. (*Eng. Enc.*) W. *gwill*, swift (Rich.); *gwilog*, full of starts.

From this point our selection must be confined within still narrower limits, from the want of space for a full exhibition of this class of words.

Harry, a jeering, interjectional imperative when a labourer or navigator is overladen and cannot wheel his barrow along. His fellow workmen then cry "Harry! harry!" (Nhamp., E.) O. H. G. *harén*, Prov. Sw. *harja*, to give a loud outcry

W. *haro*, an interjection expressing contempt or a slight; Arm. *harao*, cri tumultueux pour se moquer de quelqu'un; Fr. *harau*, *haro*, "cri, clamour pour implorer du secours, ou réclamer la justice." (Roquefort.)

The French corresponding word is a cry made by a distressed person, not against him.

Heck, to hop (W. P.)

W. *hec-ian*, to hop; *hegl*, a leg

Hocks, the mallow; *hock-herb*, id. (Ash)

W. *hocys*, the mallow; *hocys bendigaid*, the hollyhock.

"Rose d'outre mer, the garden mallow, called *hocks* and hollyhocks." (Cotgrave.) *Hok*, mallow. (*E. Eng. Voc.*, i, 265.) Many other country names of plants are from a Celtic source. I subjoin a few instances. *Fluellin*, the herb speedwell; *W. llysiaw Llewelyn*. "Speedwell, otherwise called *Fluellin*." (Phillips.) "*Fluelline*, veronica." (Withal's *Dict.*, ed. 1602.) *Fion*, fox-glove; *W. ffion*. "*Fion*, camglata, foxesglove." (*E. Eng. Voc.*, i, 140.) *Lurkey-dish*, a country name for the pennyroyal; *W. llyrcadys*, the pennyroyal. (Davies, *W. Bot.*) *Mat-felon*, the knapweed; *W. madfelen*; with many others.

<i>Ivin</i> , ivy (N. H., Clevel.), a Celtic termination	Corn. <i>hivin</i> , <i>W. ywen</i> , Manx, <i>hibin</i> , <i>hivin</i> , ivy
<i>Kaff</i> , a gardener's hoe (N. H.)	<i>W. caff</i> , a rake with curved prongs; <i>W. caib</i> , Ir. Gael. <i>caibe</i> , a mattock, a hoe
<i>Kain</i> , rent paid in kind (Webs., Nthumb.)	Ir. Gael. <i>cain</i> , rent, tribute, fine; <i>cana</i> , <i>canach</i> , tribute, amercement (Ir. Glosses, p. 47; Zeuss, 592)

A farm in the parish of Hedsor, co. Bucks., was formerly held by the service of bringing in the first dish at the lord's table, on St. Stephen's Day, and presenting him with two hens, a cock, a gallon of ale, and two manchets of white bread. (Blount's *Ten.*, 153.) "*Cain*, *kain*, a duty paid by a tenant to his landlord in kind, as *cane* cheese; *cane* fowls, etc." (Jamieson, *Sc. Dict.*)

<i>Keffle</i> , <i>kefyl</i> , a horse; generally an inferior, worn out horse (Som., Sal., etc.); O. N. <i>kapall</i> , a mare	<i>W. ceffyl</i> , Corn. <i>kevil</i> , a horse; Ir. Gael. <i>capall</i> , <i>capull</i>
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"Sir Richard, having no more to say,
Mounted his *keffle* and rode away."

Rich. of Dalton Dale. (H.)

The Irish form is found in Chaucer and Piers Ploughman. The *Prompt. Parvulorum* has "*capul* or *caple*, a horse" (p. 61, Way's ed.); "*caballus*, a horse; yet in some parts of England they do call a horse a *cable*" (Eylot's *Dict.*)

<i>Lam</i> , to run. "Ther wur a peeler after him. By Gow! didn't he <i>lam</i> !" (Leeds)	<i>W. llamu</i> , Corn. <i>lamme</i> , Arm. <i>lammet</i> , to leap, to bound
<i>Lech</i> , <i>leck</i> , a hard subsoil of gravel and clay (Cumb.)	<i>W. llech</i> , a hard, flat surface; slate, slate-rock

ENGLISH.

Lucbe, to throw, to fling; *lutch*, to pulsate strongly, as an angry tumour (Lanc.)

"Into that lodlych loze they *luche* hym (Jonah) synne,
He watz no tytter (sooner) out-tulde that tempest ne sessed."

Allit. Poems, p. 98.

CELTIC.

W. *lluchio*, to throw, to fling, to dart

Mawn, peat (Heref.)

Meacon, sedge, *carex* (Levins); *ma-kin*, the yellow flag (Lanc.); *meakin*, flags or bulrushes (Cumb.); *mackenboy*, a sort of spurge with a knotty root (Bailey)

W. *mawn*, id.

Ir. Gael. *meacan*, a plant with a tuberous root; *meacan-buidhe* (pron. *macanboy*), the yellow macan or carrot; *m. l. antsleibhe* (of the mountain), the knot-rooted spurge

Mackenboy seems an imported word, though not so marked, but the others are native.

Merchet, a fine anciently paid by inferior tenants to the lord of the manor, for liberty to dispose of their daughters in marriage (B.)¹

Nin, a child's word for drink

W. *merch*, a daughter, a woman; Arm. *merch*, fille

Ir. Gael. *nin*, a wave; *nin-os*, a cloud; O. Ir. *nin-us*, water of a foss, or a wave (Cormack's *GL.*, p. 31); O. W. *non*, a stream; Sans. *ninnv*, to wet, to moisten

The word that children call their drink by, as our children say *ninne* or *bibbe*. (Florio, p. 64, H.)

Nuchid, ill nourished (Sal. *Sat. Rev.*, Oct. 11, 1879.)

Othar, to be decrepit, to work feebly (Holdersness, E. D. S.)

Ouinin, a weak, spoiled boy (N. H.)

Oye, a grandchild (N. Br.)

W. *nychu*, to pine, to fade away

Ir. *othar*, sick, weak; Ir. Gael. *odhar*, pale, wan

Ir. Gael. *ouna*, silly (*ounin*, a silly one); Corn. *ownec*, a coward

Manx, *oe*, Ir. *ua*, Ir. Gael. *ogha* (pron. *oha*), a grandchild

Polly-ully, a game in which a flat piece of earthenware, or the like, is jerked with a hop through the compartments of an oblong division of the ground (Cleveland. Whitby)

Gael. *pulag*, a round stone; W. *pal*, a flat body (?), a spade; Arm. *pdl*, "pierre plate et ronde qui sert à jouer"; Ir. Gael. *ula*, *uladh*, a jerk

¹ "Muleta quædam apud Britannos quæ olim domino solvebatur pro virginum castitate".* (Bracton, quoted by Davies s. v. *Amobr.*)

* British certainly is *Mercheta* of the Scottish feuds (and of English, see Blount's *Tenures*), and is apparently nothing more than the *merched* of Howel Dha, the daughterhood, or fine for the marriage of a daughter." (Whitaker, *Hist. of Manchester*, ii, b. i, c. 8). In the Welsh laws the fine is called *amobyr*. The Fr. *marchet* denoted the same commutation-fee (Roquefort, s. v.)

ENGLISH.

Pant, a hollow (W., Lanc., Cumb.),
a cistern, a reservoir (N. H.)

Partan, a crab (Nhumb.)

Peel, a fort, a stronghold; *peel-house*,
a stockade, a small fortress (Cumb.)¹

CELTIC.

W. *pant*, a hollow

Ir. Gael. *partan*, a crab (*Ir. Gl.*, p. 70)

W. *pill*, a fort (prim. a stock of a
tree); Arm. *pill*, "tronçon de bois";

Manx, *peeley*, a tower or fortress

"The romance, it says Richarde did make a *pele*
On kastell-wise, allwaies wrought of tre (tree) ful wele."

Rob. de Brunne's *Chron.*, p. 157.

"There met I crying many one,
A larges ! larges ! hold up well !
God save the lady of this *pell* !
Our owne gentill Ladie Fame."

Chaucer, *House of Fame*, iii, 220.

Poothy, close and hot, applied to
weather (Nhamp.)

Poothery, close, muggy, sultry (Leic.,
Warw. E. D. S.)

Rann, a division of a net (Suss.)

Raths, ancient mounds or earthworks
(Whitby, E. D. S.)

Rills, passages, as *foot-rills* in coal-
works open to the air (Staff.)

Rodney, an idle fellow who wanders
about (Staff.)

Ross, a morass, (Heref.) ; *rosland*,
heathy or moorish land (Webster)

Sarn, a pavement, stepping-stones
(Webster, Ash)

Seen, a cow's teat or pap (B.), (Kent,
H.)

Skain, *skeen*, a sword ; *skane*, to cut
shellfish out of the shell (Whitby)

Skainsmate, a comrade

W. *poeth*, hot, burning, fiery

W. *rhan*, Arm. *rann*, Ir. Gael. *rann*,
a part, a division

Ir. Gael. *rath*, W. *rhath*, a hill, a
mound

W. *rhill*, a furrow, a trench

W. *rhodiad*, a stroller ; *rhodiena*, to
stroll about ; *rhodienai*, a gadding
gossip

W. *rhos*, a moor ; Arm. *ros*, "tertre
couvert de fougère ou de bruyère";
Ir. Gael. *ros*, a plain

W. *sarn*, a pavement, causeway, step-
ping-stones

Ir. Gael. *sine*, a teat, a nipple ; *sin*,
round ; Manx, *shinnay*, id.

Ir. Gael. *sgian*, a knife (*Ir. Gl.*, 74) ;
Manx, *skynn*, a knife ; W. *ysgrien*
(*skien*), a cutter, knife, scimitar

"The Saxons of her sorts the very noblest were,
And of those crooked *skains* they used in war to bear,
Which in their thundering tongue the Germans hand-seax
name,

Their Saxons first were called."

Polyolbion, iv, 737.

"His arme is strong,
In which he shakes a *skeine* bright, broad, and long."

Heywood, *Brit. Troy*, iii, 50.

¹ Mr. Brocket says, *s. v.* "Peel", that they were defences "of earth mixed with timber, strengthened by piles or palisades."

"Scurvy knave ! I am none of his flirt-gills. I am none of his *skains-mates*." (*Rom. and Jul.*, ii, 4.)

ENGLISH.

Speyre, the flap at the front of a woman's under-clothing, the pocket-hole of a gown or petticoat

CELTIC.

Ir. Gael. *spaidhir* (pron. *speyr*), the pocket-hole of a petticoat, flap of breeches

Speyre of a garment, "cluniculum,¹ manubium" (*Prompt. Parv.*) *Spare*, "mancupium" (*E. Eng. Voc.*, i, 238.)

"Telling this pyteous tale,
How my byrd so fayre,
That was wont to repayre,
And go in at my *spayre*,
And crep in at my gor
Of my gounne before."

Philip Sparrow (Skelton).

Stoor, dust, dust in motion (N. Br.); *stour*, dust (Craven, Dev.)

Ir. Gael. *stur*, Manx, *stoor*, dust

Taffle, to spread hay, to beat down wheat or grass (Dors.); to throw into disorder (Cumb.)

W. *tafl*, a cast, a throw; *taflu*, to throw, cast, project

Tigh, teage, a close, an enclosure (in old records; Bailey); A. S. *tige*, a tie, a band, a bag

Ir. Gael. *tigh*, *teagh*, a house; Manx, *tigh*, *thie*; W. *ty*, id.

Titty, a cat (N. H.); *tit*, a cat (Nhampt), used for calling a cat (Leeds)

W. *titu*, puss, a fond name for a cat

Towse. "Can this be a form of dough?" (Marsh)

W. *toes*, dough, paste of bread; Arm. *toaz*, *toez*, paste, "farine detrempie et pétrie"; Ir. *taes*, dough (*Ir. Gl.*, p. 60; *Goidelica*, p. 29)

"These iiij soteltees devised in *tourse*,
Wher they ben shewed in an howse,
Hit dothe gret plesaunce."

Babees Boke, p. 169.

Ugeek'n, twenty (Yorks. Dales, E. D. S.)

W. *ugain*, twenty; Corn. *ugens*, *ugent*, id.; O. W. *ucent*; "also urkeltisch *vikent*" (Fick); Lat. *viginti*, Sans. *vinçati*

Waith, the figure or apparition of a person about to die, or recently dead (N.)

Corn. *weth*, W. *gwedd*, a figure, a form, or shape

Whap, a blow, to strike smartly (H.); *whappet*, a blow on the ear (Dev.)

W. *chwap*, a blow; *chwapio*, to strike smartly

Whig, buttermilk (Lanc.), a drink prepared from fermented whey (Webs.)

W. *chwig*, buttermilk; adj., sour, fermented

¹ "Cluniculum, le pertuis (opening) qui es vestemens des femmes ioust le coste." (*Cathol. Abbrev.*, 1477.)

"*Whigged*. This term now describes some defect in a culinary preparation of milk." (Hunter, Hallam, *Gl.*) In Lancashire milk is said to be *whigged* when it has become sour.

"If you go to Nun Keling, you shall find your belly filling
Of *whig* or of *whay*;
But go to Swine, and come betime,
Or else you go empty away.
But the Abbot of Meaus doth keep a good house
By night and by day."

Yorks. Rhyme (Hunter).

ENGLISH.

Wlon, wool or nap

CELTIC.

W. gulan, wool; sometimes *wlan*, as
cnu o wlan, a fleece of wool

"When somme of them walketh with clouted shon (shoes)
And clothes ful feble, wel neigh forwerd (worn out),
And the *wlon* offe."

Piers Pl. Creed, l. 1462.

Our following list will be of words that vary in vowel or consonantal sounds from the Celtic forms which are now in use.

J. DAVIES.

OF THE POLITICAL VALUE OF CASTLES UNDER THE SUCCESSORS OF THE CONQUEROR.

It is rather remarkable that castles should not occupy, even incidentally, a more prominent place in the *Domesday Survey*, as they formed a very important feature in the country; were closely, for the most part, attached to landed property, and were of great political importance. No great baron was without a castle upon each of his principal estates, nor was any bishop secure of his personal safety unless so provided. At the death of the Conqueror it was the possession of Winchester Castle that gave to William Rufus the royal treasure, and enabled his adherents to acquire the castles of Dover and Hastings, and thus, at the commencement of his reign, to

secure a safe communication with Normandy. The power of his party depended largely upon their fortresses. Archbishop Lanfranc held Saltwood, which the earthworks shew even then to have been strong; William de Warren held Lewes and Ryegate, and the strong hill of Coningsburgh in Yorkshire; Chester belonged to Earl Hugh, who was supported by his fifteen barons, each of whom had his castle; and in North Wales the Earl held Diganwy, which, covered in front by the Conwy water, closed the seaward pass from that aggressive district. With the Earl, and on the side of Rufus, were Robert de Tilliol, who held Flint and Rhuddlan, and Scaleby and other castles on the Scottish border; while Bishop Wolstan, representing the English feeling, held his episcopal castle of Worcester against Urso d'Abitot and a swarm of Marcher barons who crossed the Severn to assail him.

Nevertheless, the lords of the castles were mostly on the side of Duke Robert. Such were Alan the Black and Ribald his brother, the lords of Richmond and Middleham; Stephen of Holderness, strong in his sea-girt rock of Scarborough; the Mowbrays, Geoffrey, Bishop of Coutance, Justiciary to the Conqueror, and a great soldier; and Robert Mowbray, his brother's son, who held the impregnable rock of Bamborough and the great castle of Axholm in the fens of Lincolnshire; both strong, though in a different kind of strength. With them was the powerful Earl Roger of Shrewsbury with his border following; and at a later period Robert de Belesme, his successor, builder of Bridgenorth and Carreghova, and superior lord of many border castles. In the west, Duke Robert was supported by Bernard Newmarch, who held the castles of Brëcknock and Builth, and a large and fortified tract of Monmouthshire; with whom were William of Breuil, son of William Fitz-Osborn, and lord of Hereford; Roger de Lacy of Ewias; and William Earl of Eu, the owner of the strong rock of Hastings, and who at that time held the castle and walled city of Gloucester. Besides these great

leaders were, on the same side, Ralph Mortimer of Wigmore; Walter Giffard, whose castle on one bank of the Buckinghamshire Ouse, combined with a similar moated mound on the other, commanded that town and its river; Ralph Guader, who held Norwich; and Hugh Bigod, his successor there, lord of Framlingham, after Norwich the strongest place, both in earthworks and masonry, in East Anglia. Between Bristol and Bath the Mowbrays ravaged the country up to the tower of Berkeleyness, the present castle being then but an earthwork; and with them were Hugh de Graiumaisnel, who held Hinckley and Leicester castles; and William de Carileph, at first one of William's prime councillors; but who afterwards changed sides, and was enabled to do so with safety from his possession of the keep of Durham. Bishop Odo, who held Rochester Castle (even then a place of great strength), and with it the passage of the Medway, placed there Eustace of Boulogne; and himself, with his brother Earl Robert and five hundred knights, held the Roman Pevensey, strengthened by some English additions in earth.

Rufus, however, with far more energy than his brother Robert, had also the popular feeling on his side, which enabled him to make head even against this powerful combination. He laid siege to Pevensey, and took it after a seven weeks' siege. He then assailed and took Rochester, and finally Tonbridge, held by Gilbert Fitz-Richard, the consequence of which was the banishment of Bishop Odo. Robert Mowbray was beaten back from before the walls of Ilchester Castle, now utterly destroyed; and Bishop William was forced to surrender Durham. Carlisle, wasted by the Danes in 877, received from Rufus in 1091-92 a castle and a keep, now standing; and Newcastle, similarly provided in 1080, with Cumberland became incorporated into England. In 1098 Malcolm of Scotland, the husband of St. Margaret, was slain before Alnwick, then better known as Murielden; and Mowbray was driven from Tynewald Castle back upon Bamborough, which seems to have been

finally taken by means of a Malvoisin, which in this instance was evidently an entrenched camp thrown up to the west of the Castle, and employed probably as the headquarters of a blockade. In this reign also the conquest of South Wales was completed, and the foundations laid of a chain of castles from Gloucester and Hereford to Pembroke, the main links of which were Chepstow and Abergavenny, Caerleon and Cardiff, Builth and Brecknock, Caerlennen, Caermarthen, Cardigan, Tenby, and Carew. How far these Welsh castles were at once constructed of masonry is uncertain. Besides Chepstow, two only, or at most three, and those subordinate, Ogmores, Penlline, and Newcastle, exhibit decided Norman features; but however this may be, neither Fitz-Hamon, Newmarch, nor Arnulph of Montgomery, were likely, in the face of foes so formidable, to be satisfied with defences in any way inferior to the strongest of that day.

The reign of Henry I was prolific in castles. It is probable that to him is due the greater number of our extant rectangular keeps, by the construction of which he carried to completion the plans sketched out by his father, and which his brother had been too busy, and too much pressed, to take in hand. In this reign, especially between 1114 and 1121, most of the Welsh castles were completed. Bristol and Cardiff Castles were the work of Robert Earl of Gloucester. Bishop Roger of Salisbury built Sherborne, Salisbury, the Devizes, and Malmesbury; and his brother, Alexander of Lincoln, Sleaford and Newark. "*Castella erant crebra per totam Angliam.*" Most of these were great and strong, very different from the hasty and unlicensed structures of the succeeding reign.

Henry, like Rufus, commenced his reign with the taking of Winchester with its treasures. Flambard, who had been entrusted with the great episcopal castles of Durham and Norham, was imprisoned in the keep of London. The outlawry of Robert Malet and Robert de Lacy in 1101 gave Henry their castles in Yorkshire

and Suffolk; and in 1102 Ivo de Graintmaisnel was driven from his stronghold at Hinkley, and forced to flee the country. Also the King obtained, by forfeiture, the castle of William de Warenne, though this was afterwards restored. Henry in 1103 laid his hands upon Arnulph de Montgomery's castle of Pembroke, and on those of Robert of Poitou, his brother, between the Ribble and the Mersey. The death of William Earl of Moretaine brought in the almost impregnable hill-castle of Montacute, with Trematon, Launceston, Tintagel, Boscastle, and Restormel, and other Cornish fortresses. The fall of Robert de Belesme gave the crown the castles of Arundel,—a lesser Windsor in its plan, and scarcely inferior in its position; of Shrewsbury, the mound of which still towers over the Severn, and dwarfs even the extensive and incongruous railway-station at its foot; of Bridgenorth, where a fragment of the keep shews what it must once have been; and of Carreghova, of which the very traces are well nigh effaced. Belesme retired to Normandy, where he is said to have been lord of thirty-four castles; but the fragments of his power only betrayed him into further rebellion, so that he ended his life a prisoner and an exile on the castled mound of Wareham.

There still remained, indeed, in private hands a considerable number of castles, the owners of which found it convenient to give way, and thus to retain a portion of their influence. Such were Bourne in Lincolnshire; Malton, held by Fitz-John, in Yorkshire; Beaudesert in Warwickshire, the episcopal castles of Newark and Sleaford, and that of Oakham. There were also Warblington in Hampshire; and in Cumberland, Egremont and Cockermouth.

The rebellion of 1118 gave to Henry the castles of Hugh de Gournay in the west, of Stephen of Albemarle at Scarborough, of Eustace of Breteil, of Richard de l'Aigle, and of Henry Earl of Eu; together with the Mowbray castles of Thirsk, Malzeard, and Burton in Lonsdale. Nearly the whole of the strongholds thus

acquired were retained by Henry in his own hands, and Suger states that in Normandy the principal castles were by him either held or destroyed: "*Fere omnes turres et quæcunque fortissima castra Normanniæ...aut eversum iri fecit...aut si dirutæ essent propriæ voluntati subjugavit.*" In either country he laid hands on the castles; but where the delinquents held in both, it was upon those in England that the forfeiture was most rigidly enforced. Among the exceptions were William de Roumare, who was allowed to hold Lincoln; and similar protection was shewn to Ralph de Conches, William de Tancarville, William de Warrene, Walter Giffard, and William d'Albini. Among their castles were Ryegate, Lewes, Coningsburgh, and Castle Rising, Buckingham and Arundel.

It has been said that Henry did not himself construct any new castles. This is probable enough, as all the sites of importance had been occupied by his father; but it is not improbable, judging from the internal evidence afforded by their remains, that he completed such of his father's castles as were left unfinished. Of baronial castles, the grand fortress of Kenilworth, by far the most important strong place in the midland counties, was constructed in this reign, though very probably upon an English site, by the founder of the house of Clinton. In this reign also were probably constructed the masonry of Northampton Castle, by Simon de St. Liz, of Old Sarum and Odiham by Bishop Roger. The keep of St. Briavel's, now destroyed, was reconstructed, or built of masonry; and Ralph Flambard laid the foundations, and seems to have completed, the keep of Norham.

STEPHEN.

The issue of the contest between Matilda and Stephen turned very much upon the castles over which each had control. It was again by the seizure of Winchester Castle and its treasure that Stephen was able to celebrate his coronation in the adjacent cathedral. It was

under the walls of Reading Castle, strongly placed between the Kennet and the Thames, that he trusted himself to meet Matilda's adherents, and with them to lay the corpse of her father before the altar of the great Abbey that he had founded, and the ruins of which have long survived those of its secular neighbour. From Oxford, strong in its walled city and partially water-girdled keep, Stephen issued his first charter, so full of promises to his new subjects; and from thence he went to Durham, one of the strongest castles of the north, to meet David of Scotland, who had wasted the border from Carlisle to Newcastle, and taken Alnwick and Norham, though foiled before Wark and Bamborough. One of David's principal concessions was the Castle of Newcastle. On the other hand he obtained the confirmation to him of that of Carlisle, long the gate of Scotland. The two, posted one at each end of the lines of Severus and Hadrian, are still tolerably perfect, as is the impregnable Bamborough, the Norman keep of which, in Stephen's time, was new.

From Oxford, still his central stronghold, on his return to the south Stephen conceded his second charter, less distinct in its promises as the danger of his position seemed less pressing. On the report of his death in 1136, it was trust in their strong castles of Exeter, Plympton, Okehampton, Norwich, Framlingham, and Bungay, that encouraged Baldwin de Redvers and Hugh Bigod to rise in arms. Bath had then a castle, and was a walled town. Stephen laid siege to and took the Castle, and thence, with two hundred horse, rode to Exeter, where Rougemont, its citadel, was strong and well garrisoned. The siege was a remarkable one, and the warlike machines employed both within and without were of a formidable character. The citizens were with Stephen, so the attack was on the city front. The bridge, still standing, from the city was one point of attack. A "malvoisin" was constructed, whence stones were poured in upon the garrison; the walls were ruined, and the towers much injured. Finally the well

ran dry, and the garrison surrendered upon terms. Plympton also capitulated, and Norwich was taken.

On Stephen's arrival from Normandy, in 1137, he secured the castles of Bourne, Wareham, and Corfe, the two latter held by Fitz-Alured and Redvers. A second rising, in 1138, timed with an invasion by the Scots, turned in some degree upon the strength of the castle of Bedford, then including a pair of moated mounds on the opposite banks of the Ouse, of which one is entirely removed, and the other remains deprived of its masonry, and shorn of its fair dimensions. This castle was held by the sons of Milo de Beauchamp, its owner, and only surrendered after a long and severe siege conducted by Stephen in person, and which terminated in a blockade. The defence was very able, and the surrender upon fair terms.

Meantime David, linking the interests of Matilda with his own claims to the great earldom of Huntingdon, twice crossed the border in the spring of 1128, retiring as Stephen approached, but a third time returning in August. He took Norham, and much injured its superb keep, built by Bishop Flambard in 1121, a noble ruin which still frowns over the Tweed, and is rich in historical recollections. Bamborough, Alnwick, and Malton, were held for Stephen by Eustace Fitz-John. Parts of the wall and inner gate of Alnwick are of about this date; but Malton has disappeared, though the previous Roman camp may still be traced. David's progress was also checked by Clitheroe, a very strong castle, of which the Norman keep, one of the very smallest extant, crowns the top of an almost impregnable rock.

At this period Stephen's position was most critical. Against him, on the Welsh Marches, Talbot held Gode-rich and Hereford, while Ludlow and Dudley, Shrewsbury and Whittington, were in the hands of Paganel, Fitz-Alan, and William Peverel. Further south, the barons of Somerset were encouraged against him by William de Mohun from his hold at Dunster, strong

naturally and by art ; and by Fitz-John at Harptree, a castle in the defiles of the Mendips ; while Maminot both held and strongly augmented Dover. Stephen, however, was active and he was brave. Leaving Archbishop Thurstan to muster and encourage his northern supporters, he himself marched south, strengthened the garrison of Bath, and threatened Bristol. Thence he entered Somerset, and took by siege the Lovel seat of Castle Cary, of which the earthworks cover a hill-side ; secured Harptree by surprise, and thence doubled back upon Hereford, which won, he next recovered the old British and English fortress of Pengwern or Shrewsbury. Bristol alone held out, strong in its newly built keep, and in the presence of Robert Earl of Gloucester, its builder.

The "battle of the Standard", A.D. 1138, was fought in the open field, under the leadership of D'Aumale ; but it was also named from North Allerton, where, intersected by the railway, are still seen formidable earthworks far older than Bishop Puiset's castle which surmounted them, and was afterwards entirely razed by Henry II. The victory of North Allerton was enhanced by the capture of Dover by Stephen's Queen. The castle of Carlisle still remained in the possession of King David, and from thence he renewed the war, and in the following year obtained for his son Henry the earldom of Northumberland ; with the exception, however, of the castles of Newcastle and Bamborough.

When, in 1139, Stephen's change of policy lost him the support of the clergy, led by his ambitious brother the Bishop of Winchester, his first blow was struck at the episcopal castles. Of these, the Devizes, Sherborne, and Malmesbury, belonged to Bishop Roger of Sarum. Malmesbury, an episcopal encroachment upon the adjacent Abbey, was wholly the Bishop's work, and is now utterly destroyed. Sherborne, a very ancient episcopal seat, still retains its early earthworks, and a keep and gatehouse, the work of Bishop Roger ; and although of the Devizes there remain but a few fragments of its

circular keep, the earthworks, the grandest in England, shew that it may well have deserved its great reputation. These Stephen seized upon, and he also took Newark upon Trent, still admired for its lofty and extended front, and for its magnificent Norman entrance. With Newark fell Sleaford, both built by Bishop Alexander of Lincoln, nephew of Bishop Roger, and also a great builder of castles. Sleaford is utterly demolished, and being entirely post-conquestal, had scarcely any earthworks to preserve its memory.

Among the events of this important year were the taking of Nottingham and Marlborough Castles by Stephen; his attack on Ludlow; the appearance on the scene of his rival, the Empress Matilda; and his siege of Arundel, in which castle she took refuge with D'Albini and Queen Adeliza his wife. Nottingham is gone. Of Marlborough only a fine mound remains, upon which stood its circular keep. Much of Ludlow, especially its rectangular keep, played a part in Stephen's siege, as did a part of the existing exterior wall, whence the grappling-hook was thrown by which the King was hooked, and was being dragged up to its battlements, when he was rescued by the Scottish Prince Henry. Arundel preserves its earthworks pretty much as they must have appeared in the reign of the Confessor; and with its shell-keep on its mound, and the original gatehouse at its foot, gives to the modern visitor a fair notion of the appearance of the defences before which Stephen pitched his camp. It was also in 1139 that De Redvers, returning to England, landed under the Conqueror's castle of Wareham, on the margin of the Poole water. From Wareham he proceeded to Corfe, a seat of the kings of Mercia, where he was besieged by Stephen.

It was during this period of the war between Stephen, Matilda, and the Church party, that were constructed the multitude of unlicensed castles ("castra adulterina") employed not merely for the security of the builders, but to enable them to prey upon their neighbours with

impunity. Nothing could well be worse than the circumstances under which these castles were built, and the purposes for which they were employed. "Stephen", says John of Tynemouth, quoted by Dugdale, "*concessit ut quilibet procerum suorum munitionem, seu castrum, in proprio fundo facere posset.*" William of Jumieges and Malmesbury compare the times to those of Normandy during the minority of Duke William; and other writers declare the state of England to have resembled that of Jerusalem during the Roman siege. There was no rule and no responsibility. The unhappy peasants were forced to labour in the construction of the strongholds of tyranny. It would seem that these castles were built with great rapidity, and with but little expenditure of labour upon earthworks, for in the next reign they were destroyed without difficulty, and scarcely any of their sites are now to be recognised. They were the work of the lesser barons, probably with the connivance of their chief lords, or even of Stephen and Matilda, who were little scrupulous as to the terms on which they accepted assistance. This multiplication of castles without the licence of the sovereign was no novelty, and was forbidden by the celebrated "*Edictum Pistense*" of Charles the Bald in 864, by which it was expressly ordered that all "*castella et firmitates, et haías, sine nostro verbo fecerunt*", should be at once dismantled ("*disfectas*"), because they are an injury to the district ("*vicini et circummanentes exinde multas depredationes et impedimenta sustinent*").

Another irregularity was the admission to the title of earl of several persons unfitted to receive so great an honour, and whose only claim to distinction was that they were leaders of mercenaries. Moreover, Stephen was not in a condition to endow them with the third penny of the revenues of a county, the usual appanage of an earl. Many of the earls created by Stephen stood, however, in a very different position. Such were Geoffrey de Mandeville, Lord of Plessy and Walden, who accepted the Earldom of Essex from both parties ;

Alberic de Vere, who built the noble keep of Hedingham, and was the first of the long line of the Earls of Oxford; Hugh Bigod, who held the Earldom of Norfolk; Richard de Clare, that of Hertford; D'Aumale, of Yorkshire; Gilbert de Clare, of Pembroke; Robert de Ferrers, of Derby; Hugh de Beauchamp, of Bedford; and probably William de Ypres, of Kent. He seems to have created, in all, nine; and the Empress six,—Cambridge, Cornwall, Essex, Hereford, Salisbury, and Somerset.

From Arundel, Matilda, it is said by Stephen's courtesy, moved to Bristol, where her brother, Robert Earl of Gloucester, held his castle on the marshy confluence of the Frome with the Avon. Robert also at that time held the royal Castle of Gloucester, long since destroyed, and a prison built on its site; and he was probably builder also of the shell-keep still standing upon the mound of Cardiff. At that time Matilda's friends held Dover, with the square keep of Canterbury, placed just within the enceinte of the far older city ditch, and almost within bowshot of the more venerable mound of Dane John. Mention is also made of the Castles of Trowbridge and Cerne as recently erected. The latter was taken by Stephen by storm, before the attack on Malmesbury. Trowbridge held out with success.

The great event of 1141 was the siege, or rather the battle, of Lincoln. The Castle had been surprised, and was held by Ranulph Earl of Chester and his half-brother William de Roumare. As Stephen approached, Earl Ranulph left the place secretly to procure assistance from the Earl of Gloucester. This was afforded, and the two Earls, with 10,000 men, some of them Earl Robert's Welsh followers, crossed the Trent, and found Stephen drawn up to receive them. The result of the battle was the capture of Stephen, and the confirmation of Earl Ranulph in Lincoln Castle. On this Matilda went to her royal Castle at Winchester, a part of the defences of the old Venta Belgarum, and characterised

by a large mound, now removed. Here Bishop Henry, safe in his rectangular keep of Wolvesey, still standing near the Cathedral, in the opposite angle of the city, treated with her almost as equal with equal, but acknowledged her as Lady of England. Their accord, however, was neither cordial nor of long duration. Upon the Queen's return, in some discredit, from London, an open quarrel broke out. She attacked Wolvesey, and the Bishop retaliated upon the royal Castle with better success.

Under the escort of Brian Fitz-Count and Milo, to whom Matilda had given the Earldom of Hereford and the "Castle and Mote" of that ancient city, she fled from Winchester, Earl Robert guarding her rear. They were pursued. Matilda reached Ludgershall Castle in safety, and then went to the Devizes; but Earl Robert was taken on the way by William of Ypres, and imprisoned in Rochester Castle. Stephen was then a prisoner in Bristol Castle; and in November 1141 the Earl and King were exchanged. A month later, at the Synod of Westminster, the pains of excommunication were denounced against all who built new castles, or offered violence to the poor,—a significant conjunction.

Stephen's illness and Earl Robert's absence in Normandy checked for a short time active hostilities, and meantime Stephen held the Tower of London, and Matilda the Castle of Oxford. Late in 1142 Stephen attacked and took Oxford, and blockaded the castle until the winter set in, and the stock of provisions fell short. The Thames was frozen, and the ground covered with snow, by the aid of which Matilda, robed in white, escaped across the river, and fled to Fitz-Count at Wallingford. The castle was then surrendered. Its grand mound is yet untouched; and below it, upon the river, is a large square tower of the eleventh century. Part of the city wall also remains.

Before Reading, Stephen had taken several strong but less important fortresses, such as Bow and Arrow castle on the Cliff of Portland, which still remains, and

Carisbroke, the strength of the Isle of Wight. He took also Lulworth, in Purbeck, represented by a far later residence. Cirencester, which he burned, seems never to have been restored ; and Farringdon, built in haste by the Earl of Gloucester, was also swept away. Stephen's strength, however, lay in London and the east ; and that of Matilda about Gloucester and Bristol, and in the west. Stephen also held Pevensey. The great midland barons stood aloof, biding their time. Thus Roger de Bellomont and his brother Waleran, of Meulan, held Leicester with its Roman walls and English earthworks, protected by the meads of the Soar ; along the edge of which, and at the foot of the mound, is still seen the Norman Hall, and hard by the stately church of St. Mary de Castro, also in large part Norman. They also held Mount Sorrell, at that time a strong castle built upon a rock of syenite ; but now quarried away, both rock and castle, to macadamise the highways of the metropolis. Saher de Quincy was strong about Hinkley, where the early mound, stripped of its masonry (if, indeed, it ever received any), still guards the eastern entrance to the town. The Earl of Chester held Lincoln as his own ; and the hill of Belvoir, the cynosure of the Midland, was guarded by the grand shell-keep of Trusbut and De Ros, burned down and rebuilt after a tasteless fashion in our own days.

In 1146 death deprived Matilda of the Earls of Gloucester and Hereford. She retired to Normandy ; but her place was taken by the young Plantagenet, her son. In this year also Stephen availed himself of the presence of the Earls of Chester and Essex at his court to seize their persons, and to force them to render up, the one the Castles of Lincoln and Northampton ; the other that of Plessy, of which the moated mound and contained church are still seen ; and Stansted Montfitchet, now almost a railway station, and which vied with the old castle of the Bishop of London at Stortford. Walden, also thus gained, is still famous for its earthworks and for the fragment of its Norman keep, composed,

like Bramber and Arques, of flint rubble deprived of its ashlar casing.

Earl Geoffrey having thus purchased his liberty, employed it in burning the Castle of Cambridge, the mound of which, sadly reduced in size, still overlooks the river. While in pursuit of the Earl, Stephen is said to have built certain new and probably temporary castles. More probably he refortified with timber some of the moated mounds, such as Clare, Eye, and Bures, and of which there are many in Essex and Suffolk. Works in masonry he certainly had neither time nor means then to construct. Soon afterwards the Bishop of Winchester ceased to be papal legate, and found it convenient to support his brother's party, and persuaded him to refuse permission to Archbishop Theobald to attend the new Pope at Rheims. Theobald, however, defied the King, and on his return took shelter within the unusually lofty walls and strong earthworks of Framlingham, a Bigod castle in Suffolk. About this time mention is made of castles at Cricklade in Wilts, at Tetbury and at Winchcombe in Gloucestershire. There was also a castle at Coventry, and at Downton in Wiltshire, still celebrated for its moot-hill.

In 1149 York opened its gates to young Henry of Anjou, who assembled a considerable force, with which he met the royal army at Malmesbury, though without an actual collision. Of 1151 is on record a curious convention in which the Earls of Leicester and Chester were concerned, under which no new castles were to be built between Hinkley and Coventry, Coventry and Donnington, Donnington and Leicester; nor at Gateham, nor Kinoulton, nor between Kinoulton and Belvoir, Belvoir and Oakham, and Oakham and Rockingham. In 1152 occurred the celebrated siege of Wallingford, held for Matilda by Brian Fitz-Count. Enough of Wallingford remains to shew how strong it must formerly have been; and the temporal was fully equalled by the spiritual power, for the town, always small, contained as many churches as apostolic Asia. Stephen,

unable to approach the Castle from its landward side, threw up a work still to be traced at Crowmarsh, on the left bank of the river, and there posted his engines. Young Henry, holding Malmesbury, Warwick, and about thirty other not very distant castles, marched to the relief of Wallingford, and invested the lines of Crowmarsh, besieging the besiegers. Stephen advanced to their aid from London, and Henry seems to have moved into the town, holding the passage of the river at the bridge by a special work. Wallingford was thus saved, and Henry, early in 1153, laid siege to Stamford, where, as at York, Hertford, and Buckingham, two mounds (of which one now remains), commanded the river, and stormed Nottingham, where were similar works upon the Trent. Stephen, falling back into the eastern counties, took Ipswich, a castle of which even the site is lost.

The death of Eustace, Stephen's son, in August 1153, paved the way to an arrangement between the rivals. Stephen was to remain King, and Henry became his acknowledged successor. William, Stephen's surviving son, was to retain the Warren castles and estates, which included Ryegate, of which traces remain; Lewes, with its double mound and strong natural position; and Coningsburgh, an English site of excessive strength, though not then as yet celebrated for its noble tower. He also had the castles of Wirmegay and Bungay, Norwich, and the castle and honour of Pevensey. It was also agreed that the garrisons of the royal castles generally should swear allegiance to Henry and to Stephen; and the castellans of Lincoln, London, Oxford, Southampton, and Windsor, gave hostages that on Stephen's death they would give them over to Henry. It was also agreed at a conference at Dunstable in 1154, that all castles built since the death of Henry I should be destroyed; a clause which may be taken to shew that no absolutely new castles of very great importance had been built by Matilda or Stephen; also that all mercenary troops were to be sent back to their own

countries. The office of sheriff, as representing the crown in the counties, was to be strengthened.

Stephen died in October 1154, and his rival ascended the throne as Henry II without opposition.

G. T. C.

THE SYSTEM OF PLACE-NAMES IN WALES COMPARED WITH THAT OF ENGLAND.

THE nomenclature of places in any country forms a very interesting subject of inquiry in a variety of aspects. From being a topic fit only for fanciful interpretations and ingenious guesses, it has of late years acquired importance as a valuable adjunct to the historian and the philologist. When the historian has traced his narrative as far back as the faintest records will carry him, the names of places step in to supplement his labours, and offer a light, frequently clear and distinct, on the prehistoric condition of the country, and on the races by whom it was inhabited. I might cite the peninsula of Spain and Portugal as an eminent instance of this. It is a country which has been peopled by successive races from a time long before the dawn of history, and each race has left the print of its footmarks on the names of localities they occupied. Tracing its history backwards, for many ages the descendants of the Goths and the Moors contended for the mastery. Previous to this the Romans held sway for a long period. The Carthaginians before them were the lords paramount; and further, history cannot penetrate. But language applied to place-names proves unmistakably that before all these there was a Celtic race which peopled the country, and that the Phœnicians, the great merchants and navigators of antiquity, had there established and successfully carried on a large part of the commerce of the world. What is true of Spain

equally applies, in a greater or less degree, to other countries.

The subject of place-names has been ably treated by several writers of recent date, amongst whom may be noticed Messrs. Isaac Taylor, Edmunds, Ferguson, and Joyce. The general principles are fully understood; their application to particular instances will amply repay the slight amount of labour and research required. My object in the following paper is to compare the system of place-names in Wales with that adopted in England. We shall see that, with some amount of resemblance, there is much diversity, and that this diversity throws considerable light on the condition of the respective peoples at the time the names were imposed. Of course we all know that the greater part of the place-names in England are Teutonic, of the Low German or Saxon stock; and that the nomenclature in Wales is Celtic, of the Cambrian stock; but the principle on which these names were applied is not so obvious.

If we examine carefully the map of England we find the greater part of the names of the counties, towns, villages, and hamlets, formed out of the English tongue, and having a distinct and intelligible meaning; if not in current modern speech, at least in that spoken by the ancestors of the present inhabitants. In some districts a large portion of the names are patronymics, such as Billing, Harling, Tooting, etc. There are then the descriptions of habitations, the *tons, wicks, hams, steads, cots, stoves*; the relative positions, such as *high, low, east, west*, etc. Natural features, though not so common, are tolerably abundant,—*ford, brook, well, den, dale, holt, wood*, etc. This general description suffices to shew that these names were given by a people cognate with the present inhabitants, who at some time in the far past were in sufficient strength to colonise the country, and call it by their own name.

If we look a little closer we discover other phenomena. We find in various places, and especially round

the coast, intrusive patches of names allied to, but not identical with, the Saxon nomenclature, such as *by*, *thorpe*, *toft*, *hoe*, *thwaite*, etc. These overlie the Saxon names, and shew that subsequent to the Saxon settlement another race, proved by their language to be Danes or Northmen, dispossessed in these localities the previous holders, and gave their own names to the lands.

Proceeding further we find other names, of a different tongue, underlying the general Anglo-Saxon stratification, and evidently of older date. A large number of towns and villages in various parts of the kingdom have their names terminating in *chester*, frequently modified into *caster*, *caistor*, *ceter*, such as Dorchester, Manchester, Lancaster, Exeter, Wroxeter, etc. We can trace these, through the Saxon *ceaster*, to Latin *castra*, the term for a fortress. There are other names, such as *Colne*, Lat. *Colonia*; *Pontefract*, Lat. *Pons fractus* (broken bridge), which point in the same direction. Many names of Anglo-Saxon origin also refer to Roman remains existing at the time of the Saxon settlements. Ermin Street, Watling Street, and others, indicate the Roman paved roads (Lat. *strata*) which crossed the country in various directions. Stretton, Stratford, Chester-le-Street, and others, mark stations along these roads. In these names we have indelible proof of the existence in England, for a long period, of the strong, powerful, and to a great extent beneficial, supremacy of Rome.

But we have indications of higher antiquity still. There are various names which are merely Latinised forms of appellations in a previous language before the Roman conquest. *London* can be traced back to Roman *Londinium*, which is simply the Cymric *Llyn-din* (the fort on the pool) with a Latin termination. York, Exeter, Wroxeter, Brancaster, and other towns, take their names from similar combinations.

Proceeding on the same line, we further find that many of the natural features of the country are called

by names of purely Cymric origin. The Esk, the Axe, the Avon, the Dee, the Don, the Douglas, the Yarrow, etc., retain the names conferred long before the Saxon or even the Roman invasion. The mountains of the north of England, Helvellyn, Blencathra, Pen y Gant, Wernside, etc., also retain their Cymric appellations. From this we gather that, previous to the arrival of the Saxons or of the Romans, there are clear evidences, apart from written history, that the country was peopled by a Celtic race who have left behind few traces but the names, apparently indelible, which they gave to the great features of nature. It is far from improbable that, concealed by their Saxon suffixes, there may still exist in the names of places in England many relics of Cymric nomenclature hitherto undiscovered or unnoticed. This is a subject well worthy of further inquiry.

We have thus existing in England, independent of all written records, clear indications of the successive waves of population which overspread the country, and left their indelible marks behind. We have a *tableau* of history before our eyes, inscribed on the face of the country itself in characters which cannot be mistaken.

If we now turn to the Principality of Wales we shall find a very different state of things. Whether the Cymry are the *αὐτόχθονες* (the aboriginal inhabitants), I will not take upon myself to affirm. There is a theory that they were preceded by a Gaelic race who were gradually driven westward, and either exterminated or forced to cross the Channel to Ireland. Professor Rhys, in his excellent work on Welsh Philology, alludes to this theory, but holds it to be untenable. It may be so; but there are traditions which point in that direction, and which it is difficult to account for in any other way. The circular bases of huts sunk in the ground, which are found in such numbers on many points of the coast of North Wales, bear the traditional name of *cyttiau gwyddelod*, usually interpreted "the huts of the Irishmen." It may not have anything to do with Irishmen properly so called, *gwyddel* being pro-

bably a derivative from *gwydd*, trees. It is, therefore, the synonym for the English "savage", mediæval *selvage*, from *silva*, a wood. This certainly seems to imply that there had been a race of men, in a lower state of civilisation, preceding the Cymry, who conquered, and probably exterminated them; and that we have in these *cyttiau* the remains of their last strongholds. Be this as it may, these mythical aborigines have left, so far as we know, no impress on the nomenclature. Whether any of the cromlechs, maenhirs, stone circles, and camps, are of a period preceding the advent of the Cymry is a question not now coming within my purview.

The vast majority of the place-names in Wales are, then, pure Cymric; and so far as we can perceive they have not been intruded into any previous name-system. They are formed in a manner entirely different from the English, and give no indications of a conquering race. The prominent physical features of the land, the mountains, and rivers, would be the first named. For the former we find a variety of appellations, arising from their respective magnitude, form, colour, relative position, natural productions, and other circumstances—*Mynydd*, *Breidden*, *Moel*, *Glyder*, *Ban*, *Bryn*, *Craig*, *Aran*. The highest mountain takes its name from its highest peak, *Craig Eryri* (the Eagle's Rock). Other craigs are named from their peculiarities,—*Craig Goch* (the Red Rock), *Craig Durg* (the conspicuous Rock), *Craig y Fodwyn* (the long, sharp Rock), etc. The two next are named from the cairns or tumuli on their summits,—*Carnedd Llywelyn* and *Carnedd Dafydd*.

Next in order come the Glyders. *Glwyd*, or *gloyw*, signifies bright or clear, akin to the English "glow". The Glyders, then, are the conspicuous summits of the bright mountains, which exactly answer to their character. *Faen* or *Fain* signifies a sharp, pointed cone, illustrated in the well known *Tre Faen*, the triple peaks which predominate over Nant Francon. *Moel* or *Foel* (a bare, rounded summit) is very common, as *Moel*

Eithin (the Furze Mountain), Moel Hebog (the Hawk Mountain), Moel Famma (the Mother Mountain), Foel Goch (the Red Mountain), Foel Lwyd (the Dark Mountain). *Mynydd*, from *mwn* (to ascend), means an eminence pure and simple—*Mynydd Mawr* (the great Hill), *Mynydd Rhiw* (the Mountain Slope). The Breiddens are the cloud-dispersers. *Cefn* (a ridge) is in very common use. *Cefn Coch* (red ridge), *Cefn Llechan* (flat ridge), *Cefn Maen Nanmor* (the ridge of the Nanmor stone). *Bryn*, a hill of less eminence, is found in great profusion. *Bryn Dinas* (the castle hill), *Bryn Gossol* (the hill of the watch tower), *Bryn Tirion* (the pleasant hill). *Pen*, which is so frequently found in place-names, does not originally signify an eminence. It primarily applies to the extremity or termination of anything; but like *ben* in Gaelic it is frequently attached to mountain summits. In the primary meaning we find it in *Pen y Bont* (the bridge end), *Pen y Fordd* (the end of the road), *Pen y Waun* (the end of the meadow or plain). In connection with summits we have it in *Pen y Gaer*, *Pen y Dinas*, *Pen y Castell*, fortified eminences; *Pen Maen Mawr* and *Pen Maen Bach*, the great and little termination of the rocks.

These are the principal mountain names, though there are other epithets occasionally used, such as *Tal y Fan* (the end of the eminence), *Cader* or *Gader* (a seat or chair, as *Cader Idris*), *Pen y Gader*. *Aran* is not very common, but is found in several places applied to a high mountain. It is common also to the Gaelic, and is found in Scotland and Ireland.

The passes and valleys have distinctive names. *Bwlch* from *bwl*, equivalent to Eng. *bowl*, is very frequently met with in the sense of a hollow or defile. *Nant* has a very wide range in the sense of a valley usually fertile, and gives the name to a great number of places: *Nant Francon* (the beavers' vale), *Nant Llwynog* (the foxes' valley), *Nant Gwrach* (the vale of the hag), *Sychnant* (the dry valley), *Nant Gwynant* (the fair vale). *Glan* (Eng. *glen*) is applied to the banks of a

river flowing through a valley, as Glan Afon, Glan Usk. *Cwm* (Eng. *combe*) is the name for the large hollows scooped out of the mountain sides, as Cwm Coch (red combe), Cwm Bychan (little combe). This word is very common in place-names in Devonshire and Cornwall, derived from the ancient Cornish language. Dwygyfylchi, a charming little vale near Penmaenmawr, signifies the meeting of the two clefts or passes.

The nomenclature of the mountainous districts which I have just described is almost entirely wanting in England, owing to the different conformation of the surface. What little there is has been principally derived from the Cymric. The greater features of nature supply a large fund of place-names in Wales. *Dol*, a river-meadow, is frequent, as Dolwyddelan, the Gwyddelan's meadow; Dolgelley, the hazel meadow. *Gwern* or *wern*, an irrigated meadow; Wern-y-go-uchaf, the upper Smith's meadow; Wern-y-go-isaf, the lower one; Gwern-y-go-cogwrn, the Smith's crab-tree meadow.

The river-names in Wales are extremely interesting from the links they supply to connect the place-names over the greater part of Europe. Many of these names are found not only in England, but in France, Germany, Italy, and Spain, where their signification has been entirely lost. It is only in those countries where the Celtic dialects are spoken that their true origin can be traced: *Avon*, as the name of a river, has a very wide range. In Wales, England, Scotland, and Ireland, it is found attached to numerous streams. In France we find it, though somewhat corrupted, in the *Auon*, the *Cal-Avon*, and others. In Portugal there is the *Avid*, and in Spain the *Avono*; in Italy, the *Aven-za*, the *S-avone*, the *Aufen-te*. It is held that Latin *amn-is* is a corruption or contraction of *Avon*; and that all these are connected with Sanskrit *ab* or *ap* by the usual interchange of *b* and *v*. The same will apply to most of the other river-names, on which time and space will not allow me now to dilate. *Wy* is found in a variety of combinations, sometimes in its simple form, as in the

rivers Wye, Conwy (the spreading water), *Llugwy* (the sparkling water), *Dyfrdwy*, or Dee (the dark water). *Wysg* is another river-name very widely diffused in its various forms of Usk, Esk, Exe, Axe, etc. Perhaps it has been brought into the most prominence by its modern derivative, *whiskey*, which is simply the original *Wysg* with the epithet *bagh* or *bach*, which is a term of endearment indicative of its exciting properties. *Dwr* is another river-name widely spread, of which Dr. Pritchard gives forty-four ancient river-names in Europe containing this root, amongst which are the Derwent, the Douro, the Adour, the Dart, the Durance, the Durbach, etc. In fact, all the river-names of Wales will be found in some part of Europe, indicating clearly the solidarity of language over a wide extent. The Celtic languages have retreated from their ancient *habitat*; but like the ancient glaciers of the Welsh valleys, they have left behind, strewn over the surface, indelible indications of their former existence.

Coed, a wood, is of frequent occurrence, as Bettws y Coed (the station in the wood), Tyn y Coed (the house in the wood), Coed Talon (the wood on the hillock), Bangor-is-Coed (the lofty choir below the wood). The number of place-names containing this word indicates the great prevalence of timber in ancient times.

Rhos, a marsh, is found in many names,—Eglwys Rhos (the church in the marsh); as also *Morfa*, a salt marsh. *Morfa Rhianedd* signifies the lady's marsh by the sea.

Llyn, a lake, is, of course, widely diffused; as also *Pwll*, a pool; *Pistyll*, a spout; and *Rhaiadr*, a water-fall.

The operations of human industry furnish a large nomenclature, though there is by no means the variety in this respect which prevails in the English names. *Garth*, an enclosure, to which Eng. "gard-en" is allied, is common. *Ty*, a house, is exceedingly numerous, qualified by various adjectives,—*Ty-newydd* (new house), *Ty-bach* (little house), *Hafot Ty* (dairy or farmhouse),

etc. *Bôd*, a dwelling, as *Bod-hyfryd*. *Tre*, a hamlet, common in Wales, but much more so in Cornwall,—*Hendre* (the old hamlet), *Hafod-tre* (the rural hamlet).

The name *Powys*, applied to the district about Welshpool, implies a settlement after a period of disturbance. *Po-gwys* combines the two ideas of habitation and restraint.

There is one word so prominent in Welsh place-names as to take precedence of all the rest. I mean the prefix *llan*, which opens up a very wide inquiry ; much wider than I can now go into. The word originally signified an enclosed area, probably a clearing ; and it is still found in compound words with much the same meaning, as *cor-lan* (a sheepfold), *corf-lan* (a burial-ground), etc. ; but as a prefix it is exclusively used in connection with a Christian place of worship, in the same manner as *cil* or *kil* in Gaelic. In the *Clergy List* there are four hundred and fifty one places quoted with the prefix *Llan*, each having a church.¹ It is found in Cornwall and the part of England formerly called Western Wales, at least from twenty to thirty times ; sparsely in other parts of England ; in the ancient kingdom of Strathclyde in Scotland ; and very frequently in Brittany. The question is, how came it to be applied exclusively to Christian worship ? There are some who maintain that the *llans* were originally areas set apart for heathen rites, and afterwards converted into churches ; but we have no evidence to this effect. It is somewhat singular that, whilst in England many of the place-names contain reminiscences of the Saxon worship of Woden, Thor, and Sætor, there is nothing whatever in the Cymric names to call up associations with pre-Christian times. Whatever may be the cause, the *llans* are now exclusively connected with the names of Welsh saints, of whom Professor Rice Rees enumerates no fewer than four hundred and seventy-nine.² The same ecclesiastical propensity existed in

¹ Mr. Taylor, in *Words and Places*, says the word "occurs ninety-seven times in the village names of Wales."

² *Essay on the Welsh Saints*.

Cornwall, where, either with the prefix of *Llan*, or *Saint*, the ancient church worthies are commemorated. In England these are comparatively few, and I believe nearly all are of mediæval origin. The Saxon saints gave their names to numerous churches; but the places were not called by their names.

It has been sometimes asserted that the names of places in mountainous countries are more poetical and imaginative than those of the plains. After some examination of the subject I cannot coincide in this view. The Cymric names are quite as matter of fact as the English ones, and display even a less exercise of the imagination. There is one name connected with a pretty legend which it would be a pity to destroy, and which connects, by a long course of tradition, the Cymric people with the old Aryans of India. I mean, of course, "Beddgelert", the grave of Llewelyn's faithful hound. It has been maintained¹ that Beddgelert commemorates the grave of a Welsh saint of the fifth century, Celert, to whom the church of Llangeler is dedicated. It may be so; though why this particular saint, out of the four hundred and seventy-nine, should be so honoured does not appear. However this may be, the coincidence of this traditionary legend with one similar, *mutatis mutandis*, in the Sanskrit Hitopades'a is very remarkable.

The place-names to which our attention has hitherto been directed are unmixed Celtic and Cymric; and did they rest alone, we might infer that no other race had ever obtained a permanent footing in the Principality. But it is not so. The great masters of the ancient world, who brought with them not only conquest and dominion, but also the arts of civilised life, held sway here for at least four hundred years, and have left behind them conspicuous and permanent memorials reflected in the names of the places they occupied, and of the works they executed. Conovium (now Caer Rhun) dominated the Vale of Conway; Segontium, Caer Seiont (now Caernarvon) protected the Menai Strait;

¹ Taylor, *Words and Places*, p. 359.

Deva (now Chester) and Bovium (Bangor-is-Coed) overlooked the Dee; and we still find recorded their various strongholds in such names as Caerleon (Castra Legionis), Caerwys, Caergwyrle, Caersws, etc. The roads connecting these various stations are in many cases still the high roads of the country. Sarn Helen, which was the highway from Conovium to Muridunum (now Caermarthen), may still be traced through the defiles of Dolwyddelan and Festiniog.

The fortifications which abound on the hill-tops in every part of the Principality, are called by different names indicating their builders. For the most part, the *caers* are of Roman origin, but by no means exclusively so. Tre'r Ceiri, one of the finest British remains, may possibly have been occupied by the Romans; but it is decidedly of pre-Roman origin. The *castells* are mostly mediæval, and the *dins* and *dinases* hill-forts of the Cymric period.

There is another element of nomenclature yet to be mentioned. The Danish and Norse sea-rovers, who harried and plundered the coasts of Europe for several centuries, did not neglect Wales. The country, however, was poor, and offered few inducements to permanent settlement: hence in North Wales the Danish nomenclature is confined to the coast, where many prominent points bear Danish names. The Point of Air, the Great and Little Orme's Heads, Priest's Holme, or Puffin Island, the Skerries, Holyhead, the North and South Stacks, Bardsey, Anglesey, with many others, indicate the points taken possession of, or frequented by, the sea-rovers, who have thus left their traces on scattered and isolated positions.

I must now bring these remarks to a close. I trust enough has been said to shew the interest which attaches to the study of place-names, and the light it is capable of throwing on the history of a country far beyond any written records. There is still a wide field open to investigation in this direction; and if these few words should have the effect of stimulating any to

pursue further this course of inquiry, I shall be amply repaid.

Before I conclude I wish to add a few words on the boundary between Wales and England considered philologically. It might have been supposed that, in the case of an intruding race gradually gaining ground, and thrusting back or absorbing the aboriginal inhabitants step by step, there would be a manifest intermingling of the nomenclature of both races, and that the Saxon and Cymric names would insensibly be fused together. Such has been the case in North America, where we find the old Indian names very numerous, mixed with the English appellations. Such, however, is not the case in Wales and England. The English names in Wales, and the Welsh names in England, are comparatively few in number, and limited in extent. This is not unlikely owing to the existence, in the middle ages, of what were called the Welsh Marches,—a sort of debatable, or no man's land, which was occasionally the battle-ground of the rival races, and which served to separate their conflicting interests.

Commencing from the south, we know that Monmouthshire was, until a period not very remote, a part of the Principality; and we should, therefore, naturally expect that the vast majority of the place-names would be Cymric, which is actually the case. West of the river Wye there are very few English names. There are Whiteley, White Brook, Shire-Newton, Mounton, Grosmont (which is French), and a few others mostly modern. In Gloucestershire, between the Severn and the Wye, there occur a few Welsh names, such as Lantcant, St. Briavel's, Newent. In Herefordshire, east of the Black Mountain, a few occur,—Llanveino, Landwr, Ty Coch, etc. In Breconshire there is scarcely an English place-name west of the Afon Honddu and the upper reaches of the Wye. In Radnorshire, Knighton is almost the only English name, and this is barely within the border. In Montgomeryshire the natural eastern boundary would be the Severn; but between

the river and Offa's Dyke we find a strip of border-land where the Saxon and Cymric names are intermixed. Buttington, Leighton, Forden, Newtown, are side by side with Llanmerewig, Llandyssil, Trewern, Llandrinio. Montgomery is, of course, French. In Shropshire, north of the Vyrnwy, there is hardly a Welsh name east of Offa's Dyke; and to the west of that ancient boundary scarcely an English one. The nomenclature of Denbighshire is intensely Cymric; but in the east portion there are a few Saxon names, such as Wrexham, Gresford, Bersham. These naturally connect themselves with the Danish and Saxon settlements in the adjoining county of Flint.

J. A. PICTON, F.S.A.

' THE MARCHES OF WALES.

[From *Historical Collections in the Handwriting of Oliver Acton*,¹ towards the end of the 17th Century, among the Rawlinson MSS. in the Bodleian, and other Authorities.]

BY SIR G. F. DUCKETT, BART.

"CONCERNING THE MARCHES OF WALES", WITH A LIST
OF THE LORDS PRESIDENT.

In the antient and latter Dutch, or rather in the Language of those nac'ons which over rann the greatest part of Christendome, under the names of Vandalls, Goths, and such like, the word Marck (or Marcken) [pl.] did denote a Limit, Bound, or Frontier, and more especially such a one as did distinguish two Nac'ons, or Empires, according to the definic'on of it in Minsheu, "eodem verbo," where he calls it "Limes in agris [sive territorii], fines regionum, et margines imperii distinguens;" and according to this signification it is frequently used in the Laws of the Lombards, and severall other nac'ons as such, as in antient historians, as may be seen in Mr. Selden's (*Tit. of Hon'*, part 2, c. i,

¹ So entered in Macray's incomparable Catalogue of the Rawlinson MSS. From the same it would appear that Oliver Acton was the Steward of Christ's, St. Thomas's, and Bridewell Hospitals. His appointment by the City of London, under the designation of "Oliver Acton of London, gentleman", as Attorney and Receiver for those City Hospitals, is dated 26th Nov. 1728.

sec. 47). But amongst the Saxons it signified the extent of a Jurisdiction or Teritorie,—“districtus unius villicacionis aut ditionis,” says —; ¹ from whence afterwards in the Empire, it came to be attributed to any Country or Province that was conquered by force of Arms. The first use of it in this kind was under the Emperour H. 1st,² who flourished between the years of Our Lord 919 and 937, for he having conquered the Nac'ons of the Heneti and the Sorabi, divided all his new acquést “in prefecturas limitaneas, quas nostra lingua vocamus Marchias;” and these he distributed amongst his officers and soldiers, which from that time were called “Marchiones,” and according to Crantius “collocavit in ea primus Marchionem, qui Provinciam tueretur armis quæsitam, et augescere contenderet in diem, et quam Romani, simili ex causa, dixere Provinciam, ille appellavit Marchiam;” and presently after to the same purpose he saith, “Marchiam dicerent Saxones eam Provinciam, quam sui juris esse, per arma sunt consecuti. Inde præsi nomen inditum ut Marchio diceretur, qui illi jus diceret.”³ This course he likewise followed in other places, erecting the Marches of Sleswick against the Danes, as he had done that of Brandenburg against (the) Heneti, as he did those of Misnia and Lusatia against the Polander and Sylesian; And as many others were afterwards constituted by his successors upon the same occasion; these Fœudatories being as so many bulworks upon the borders of Germany against the barbarous Nac'ons that encompass it.⁴

¹ Krantzius, Wandalia, lib. iii, ca. xv.

² This appears to be a popular error. Henry Duke of Saxony, here alluded to, was the first *King* of Germany; but it was his son Otho (the Great) who became the first *Emperor* of Germany, and of the so called “Holy Roman Empire.”

³ *Vide* Cal. lex jur., de verbis feudalibus, verbo Marchia.

⁴ The following passages may be added in allusion to the reduction of Schleswig on the one side, and the first use of the term on the creation of the Mark of Brandenburg by Henry I, King of Germany, on the other: “Transferens imperii sui limitem ad Danos in Sleswig, (quam fecit Saxonum coloniam), et usque ad Wandalos in Brandenburg, ambobus in locis constituens *Marchionem*, qui rebus præesset”; (Krantzius, Metrop'olis, p. 76). Again, as to the origin or institution of the Mark (or Margravate) of Brandenburg, the same writer says: “*Urbem Sleswicum coloniam fecit Saxonum, constituto ibi marchione. Deinde quum Wandalos quoq. ad juga cogeret, oppugnata urbe illorum præcipua Brandenburg*”, etc. “*Expugnata urbi præsidem imposuit cum colonia Saxonum, cui simile indidit honoris vocabulum, ut marchio diceretur, quod itidem in Wandalia signavimus. Inoleuerat tum primum Marchionum nomen ante inauditum, et (ut arbitror) ex Saxonica lingua ductum;*

Hence it comes that so many countries of the Empire retain the name of Marcks to this day, as besides these already men-
c'oned, Baden, Styria, and Moravia in Germany; and in Italy, Ancona, Mantua, Ferrara, Tarvissina (*sic*), and others. This he conceives, and I think truly, to be the originall of the title of Marquesse, a dignitie now common in most of the kingdomes of Europe, for though before this time the word "Marchiones" doth frequently occur, being men-
c'oned in the constituc'ons of Charles the Great; and Aimoinus¹ (speaking of his expedition into Gascoigne) saith expressly, that he [Charlemagne] left there Marchiones or Marquesses [Relictis Marchionibus] "qui fines Regni tuentes, omnes, si forte ingruerent, hostium arcerent incursus;" yet I conceive these dignities were rather officary and personal, like the Duces Limitanei amongst the Romans, then [*than*] Feudall or hereditary, whose beginnings were not elder [*older*] than the reign of this Emperor; But after this time the title of Marchio grew common, not only in the Empire, but allsoe in France and other places, for so Frodoardus² stiles the Counts of Burgundie, about the year 921; and Baldwin, Earle of Flanders, so styled himself not long after,³ as may be seen in the Belgick Chronicles; And so likewise is Richard Duke of Normandy called, in the letters of Credence from Pope John 15th to Leo, Arch Bp of Tryers, touching the concluding of a peace between the said Richard and Etheldred, King of England, who began his reign in the year 978, "relatum est a compluribus de inimicitia Etheldri Saxonum occidentalum Regis nec non et Richardi Marchionis;" but the use of this word came not into England till after the times of W'm the Conqu'r,⁴ nor doth it occur any

nam Veltmark vocat quodque villagium suum agrum, quod alibi latius deduximus"; (Saxonia, lib. iii, p. 70.) Also to the same effect: "*Marchiones* quasi duces limitaneos constituit, ad Danos in Sleswig, ad Wandalos in Brandenburg, qui hodie permanet principatus"; (Metropolis, p. 65.) And again: "Henricus Rex victor, apud Sleswicum (quæ etiam Heidebu dicebatur), regni sui terminos ponens, *marcionem* ibi constituit, hoc est, ducem limitaneum, et Saxonum coloniam habitari præcepit." (Metropolis, lib. iii, p. 62.) Helmoldus refers to the same particular (Chron. Sclavorum, lib. i, cap. 2); also Selden (Tit. of Hon., Pars 2, p. 421).

¹ De Gest. Franc., lib. v, cap. 2. Aimoinus (or Aymoinus) was a Florentine monk. Muratori (Annali d'Italia) gives many other instances in the time of Charlemagne. See *postea*.

² Flodoardus, or Frodoardus, a French historian; Canon of the Church of Rheims.

³ Baldwynus Comes Flandriæ *marchio*, (Marchantius, etc., *Chronic. Belg.*, pp. 182, 199.)

⁴ William Duke of Normandy (The Conqueror), was frequently

where, as I can find, amongst the Saxon writers, which may allsoe be gathered from the alltering the terminac'on of Marck and Marcken into March, which is according to the French pronunciac'on here.

After the Normans were once settled, they beganne presently to thinke of extending their dominions upon the remainder of the Brittons in Wales. Thus, in a short time the Earles of Chester seized upon the County of Flint, and the parts adjacent. The Lacey, Clares, Mortimers, and others, seized upon severall parts of Monmouthshire; Fitz Hamon, with his twelve Knights, upon Glamorganshire; Bernardus de Novo Mercato upon Brecknock; and others upon other places, depriving the Welsh in a manner of all South Wales, and reduceing them into a narrow corner even of North Wales itself.¹ Every [part] of these Territories thus acquired by the sword was called a *March*, and the owner of them Lord Marcher, and the whole territorie thus divided amongst the Norman Barons came to be called the *Marches*, or the *Marches of Wales*, because it bordered upon that country; which name it first obtained, as I conceive, about the latter end of the reign of Henry 2d, or the beginning of King John, for in *Domesday*, which was made about the 20th of W'm Conq'r, there is no menc'on made of the Marches, and all the Land which was without the confines of the English counties is said to be in *Wallia*; neither doth Giraldus Cambrensis, who lived under the reign of Henry 2d, and in his Itinerary (*sic*) often speakes of the Castles and Houses of the Norman Barons, any where call them by the name of Marches; neither doth any writer before Radulphus de Diceto, as I can find, who flourished in the time of King John, or about the year 1210, call this tract of ground by the name of the *Marches*, but speaking of Cadwalla's² invasion of the English saith, "fines inter Anglos et Britto-

styled *Marchio*, with reference to Normandy. Ordericus Vitalis calls him "Guillelmus Normannorum comes seu *Marchio*", and "Inclytus Normanniæ *Marchio* Willelmus, contra Belvacenses, qui fines suos depopulari conabantur", etc. (*Hist. Eccles.*, Pars II, lib. iii, 16.) Again, "Guillelmus Normannorum *Marchio* ad transfretandum in Angliam se parat"; and "Nihilominus Normannorum *Marchio* parabat suam profectionem", etc. (*ib.*, xvii.)

¹ See this more fully *postea*.

² Cadwallanus in Sudwallia principatum aliquem habens, fines inter Anglos et Britones limitatos antiquitus sæpe transgressus est, et *Marchiom* violenter incursans, &c. (Diceto, *Imagines Historiarum*, p. 607.) Cadwallanus was, according to Diceto, a Prince of South Wales. We assume him to be the brother of Owen Gwyneth, called both Cadwalader and Cadwallus by some historians.

nes limitatos antiquitus sepe transgressus est, et *Marchiam* violenter incursans," &c. (p. 607); and afterwards (p. 703) "in *Marchia* principales defensivæ locorum prope munitionem illam quæ vocatur Castellum Matildis ad pugnam accincti concurrunt hostiliter." This Castrum Matildis Cambden (Camden) thinks to have been the same which was afterwards called *Castle Collwen*,¹ and stands in the county of Radnor, between New Radnor and Bealt, in the middle of the *Marches*. In the same sense it is alsoe used in Matthew Paris, where he saith that David, Prince of Wales, and his nobles, "bellum moverunt, et ipsum (Henricum tertium) non mediocriter in *Marchia* damnificaverunt;" and in the condic'ons of peace between the said David and K. Hen. 3d, there is menc'on made of the *Barones de Marchia* (p. 626), and in him allsoe (p. 1001), the Lords Marchers are called *Marchiones*;² after which time wee shall find

He was assassinated in 1179, whilst under the safe conduct of Henry II. In the Chronicle of Benedict of Peterborough occurs, in 1177, Catwalanus, one of the Welsh princes who did homage to Henry II in that year.

¹ Camden (*Britannia*, ii, 465) has the following: "On the east side [of Radnorshire], among other castles of the Lords Marchers, now [1607] almost buried in their own ruins, the most remarkable are Castel Paine and Castel Colwen, which, if I mistake not, was formerly called Castel Maud in Colewent. This last was very famous, and belonged to Robert de Todeney, a man of considerable rank in the reign of Edward II. It is supposed to have taken its name from Maud de St. Valery, a woman of great spirit, wife of William Breose, who rebelled against King John." It was afterwards known as Castell Collen, or the great camp of Com-Radnor, lying in the parish of Llanfihangel Helygen, in the vicinity of Llan-drindod. According to Nicholson, it was in 1840 "a square enclosure surrounded by a wall of rough, hewn stone, and defended on the west side by a double ditch."

² "Eo tempore Legatus, et Comes Gloverniæ, et alii duodecim electi erant ad pacem componendam, qui maxime elaborabant, ut exhæredati, facta redemptione pro transgressionibus, terras suas et possessiones recuperarent. Rogerus de Mortuo Mari cum cæteris *Marchionibus*, qui terras illorum dono Regis acceperant," etc., etc. Matthew Paris again, in alluding to the "Wallensium Rebellio", calls them also *Marchisii* (*Hist.*, 638, 13): [1244] "Sub illius anni quoque tempore vernali, Wallenses nescientes et nolentes colla sua legibus ignotis Regni Anglorum submittere, duces sibi constituentes, David Leolini filium, et quosdam alios potentes de Wallia, contra Regem et ejus *Marchisios* bellum moverunt cruentissimum, chartarum juramentorumque suorum obliti." Further on we learn who these Lords Marchers were at that time, opposed to David and the Welsh,— "Comes de Clare, Comes de Herefort, Thomas de Munc-

the word used in the same sense very frequently, not only in our Historians, but also in our Statute Laws. So in the "pre-rogativa regis" (17 Edw. II) there are excepted in the Article of Wardships, "Feoda Comitum et Baronum *Marchie* de terris in *Marchia*, ubi brevia Domini Regis non currunt;" which is a strong argument that this tract of ground was then understood by the name of *Marches*, because the King's writ was not current there, which cannot be presumed of any County of England.

In the 28 of Edw. III (chap. 2d), there is an act made that all the *Lords of the Marches of Wales* should be perpetually annexed to the Crown of England, as they and their ancestors have been at all times before this, and not to the Principalltie of Wales, in whose hands soever the same Principality may be, or hereafter shall come, where I think it cannot be denyed but [by] these *Marches* must be meant [lands] which by the graunt of the Principality of Wales were either claimed, or at least supposed to be aliened from the Crown of England.

But this is more expressly deducible from the Stat. 2 Hen. 4th (chap. 12), at which time there were many severe Laws made against the Welsh, who at that time, under the conduct of *Owen Glendower*, did very much infest the Borders. At that time it was ordained that no Welshman should purchase lands or tenements within the town of Chester, Salop, Bridgenorth, Ludlow, Lempster, Hereford, Gloucester, Worcester, nor other marchant townes joyning to the *Marches of Wales*, which is an evident prooffe that these Townes were thought no part of the *Marches of Wales*, since they are there said to be only joining to them.

The like also may be inferred from the Stat. 23 Hen. 6th (Cap. 5), where persons dwelling in Wales, and in the *Marches of Wales*, being indited and outlawed for Treasons and Felonies, are prohibited to come into the County of Hereford, where the County of Hereford is manifestly distinguisht from the *Marches of Wales*.

In the Stat. 32 Hen. 8 (Cap. 13), there is mention made of the Realme of England and Wales, and the *Marches* of the same; which *Marches* being neither belonging to the Kingdome of England and [or] Principalltie of Wales, must necessarily be placed here, or no where. [Vide 32 Hen. 8th, c. 4, of Tryalls of

mube (Munemuto), Rogerus de Mubaut (Muhaud), et alii *Marchisii* potentes & præclari." Again, in the "Proditio facta contra Wallenses" (in 1258), the same chronicler says, "Cum autem hæc audissent Angli, videlicet, contermini, quos *Marchisios* appellamus, irruerunt subito in Wallenses," etc.; but in this last sense the term is used to designate the inhabitants of the *Marches*, as we might say "borderers".

Treasons in the Marches of Wales]. See allsoe more to this purpose (in) the Stat. 2 Hen. 4 (Cap. 16 and 17); 31 Hen. 6th (Cap. 4); 13 Eliz. (Cap. 13); 26 Hen. 8 (Cap. 4 and Cap. 6); 2 Edw. 6th (Cap. 13) de decimis.

In like manner are the *Marches* excepted in all the Records of Parliament, as farr as I can informe myselve, of which I shall here produce some few examples. In the 20th Edward I (Ryley's Records, p. 74),¹ in the great controversie between the Earles of Gloucester and Hereford, concerning the invasion of Brecknock, and the spoils there done, there was a Commission awarded to the Bishop of Ely and others, to examine the truth "per sacramentum tam magnatum quam aliorum," &c.; who being summoned to appear, refused to take their oaths, and unanimously answered, "quod nunquam consimile mandatum regium venit in partibus istis, nisi tantum quod res tangentes *Marchiam* istam deducte fuissent, secundum usus et consuetudines partium istarum," and so went away at that time without doing anything to advise with their fellowes.² And afterwards there being a Jury

¹ Ryley's Pleadings in Parliament, or *Placita Parliamentaria*, 1661.

² The refusal to be sworn, on the part of the several members of the Bishop of Ely's commission, summoned to inquire into the excesses committed by the Earls in question, is given in the Abstract of Pleadings (*Placitorum Abbreviatio*), temp. Edward I, and is not without interest. It runs thus: "Ob quamplurimos excessus more hostili cum vexillo displicato per Gilbertum de Clare, Comitem Glouc' et Hertf', et homines suos de Morgannon illatos contra Humfridum de Bohun, Com' Hereff' et Essex, et homines suos de Brekenoke; Dominus Rex assignavit episcopum Eliens', et alios commissarios ad inquirendum", etc.

"Maudavit eciam D'nus Rex, per literas suas, dilectis et fidelibus suis Joh'i Hastings, Joh'i fil' Reginald, Edmundo de Mortuo Mari, Rogero de Mortuo Mari, Theobaldo de Verdon, Joh'i Tregoz, Will'o de Breause, Galfrido de Canvill, et Rogero de Pycheworth, quod intersint apud Brekenoke, et postea ven' apud Laudon," etc. Voluit idem D'nus Rex, pro statu et jure suo, per ipsos justiciarios, quod inde rei veritas inquiretur, per sacramentum tam magnatum quam aliorum proborum et legalium hominum de partibus Walliæ et comitatibus Glouc' et Hereff', per quos," etc., ejuscumque conditionis fuissent. Ita quod nulli parceretur in hac parte, eo quod res ista Dominum Regem et Coronam et dignitatem suam tangit," etc. "Dictum est ex parte D'ni Regis Joh'i de Hastings, et omnibus aliis magnatibus supra nominatis, quod pro statu et jure regni, et pro conservacione dignitatis Corone et pacis sue, apponant manum ad librum, ad faciendum id quod eis ex parte D'ni Regis injungeretur; qui omnes unanimiter responderunt, quod inauditum est quod ipsi vel eorum antecessores hactenus in hujusmodi casu ad prestandum aliquod sacramentum coacti fuerunt," etc. "Et licet prefato Johanni et aliis magnatibus expositum fuisset, quod nullus in hac

sworne in the same cause, they amongst other things p'sent, that the Earle of Hereford and his men of Brecknock had committed many disorders the more audaciously and presumptuously, because they hoped, "quod per libertatem suam *Marchie* possent evadere a penâ et periculo, que merito incurrisse debuissent, si extra *Marchiam* alibi in regno talem excessum perpetrassent;"¹ and in the same Record there is often menc'oned, "Lex et consuetudo *Marchie*," as opposite, or at least different from the Lawes and Customes of England.

In the 50th Edw. 3d (No. 164), the Commons of Worcestershire, Salop, and Stafford, Hereford, Bristoll and Gloucester, desire remedy for the safe passage of their merchants to Callis (*Calais*), and also [*that*] such as being of the *Marches of Wales* and County of Chester, robb in the Counties first recited, and commit other felonies or trespasses, and being thereof attainted in such shires, where the felonies are done, may therefore loose their goods and lands to their Lords; to which the answer was, that the old Law there be kept.

In the 2 Rich. 2d (No. 61), divers Townes upon the *Marches of Wales* pray that they may not be distrained or impeach't in Wales, but where they are debtors, suters or trespassers; to which the Answer is [*that*] the King and the *Lords of the Marches* would provide remedy therefore.

parte potest habere marchiam, D'nus Rex qui pro communi utilitate per prerogativam suam in multis casibus est supra leges et consuetudines in regno suo usitatas, ac pluries eisdem magnatibus ex parte ipsius Regis, conjunctim et separatim, libroque eis porrecto, injunctum est quod faciant sacramentum; responderunt demum omnes singillatim, quod nichil inde facerent sine consideratione parium suorum."

In the end, says the record, many things being overlooked owing to the Royal affinity of the parties concerned, the Earl of Gloucester paid to the King a fine of 10,000 marks, whilst the Earl of Hereford was fined in 1,000 marks. "Demum comes Glouc' fecit finem cum D'no Rege pro x millibus marcarum; et comes Essex pro mille marcis; et ob affinitatem et consanguinitatem cum Rege perdonantur plurima." (Hill, 20 Edw. I, Glouc', rot. 14.)

¹ "Et etiam quod hec omnia audacius et presumptuosius per ipsum Comitem et homines de Brecknock fiebant, credentes quod per libertatem", etc. (Riley's Placita, p. 83.) This was a celebrated suit at the time, between Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Essex, and Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester and Hertford, in 20 Edward I (1291). Gilbert de Clare was the eighth Earl of Gloucester. He married Joan Plantagenet, daughter of Edward I, and died in 1295. Humphrey de Bohun, third Earl of Hereford in descent from Henry de Bohun, ob. 1297. His son Humphrey married Elizabeth, seventh daughter of Edward I.

In the 3 Rich. 2d (No. 30), among the Petitions of the Commons, it is desired that certain counties bordering (*sic*) upon the *Marches* of Wales, might have remedy against such Welshmen as came into their countries, committing sundry robberies, rapes, felonies and other evils; to which the Answer is that the King, by the advice of the *Lords Marchers*, would provide remedy. This record is cited by the Lord Cooke [*Coke*] in his Cap. of the President and Councill of Wales.

In the 13 Hen. 4 (No. 42), among the Petic'ons of the Commons, certain frontier countries on the *Marches of Wales* complain against the manifold robberies and other extorc'ons of the Welshmen, and for redresse pray three Articles to be enacted; to which the K[ing] answers that he will be advised. See allsoe more of the like nature.

I shall conclude all this with the words of Mr. Selden, in his illustrac'ons on Poly Albion¹ (*sic*) [*Polyolbion*], speaking of the rivers which manure the batefull *March*, as the poet [*Drayton*] there terms it; by the *March* saith he understand[s] those limits between England and Wales, which continuu from North to South join the Welsh shires to Hereford, Shropshire, and the English part; and were *divers Baronies divided from any Shire*, untill Henry 8, by Act of Parliament,² *annext some to Wales and others to England*.³

The like except'ion is allsoe frequent in the Year Books of our Law, of which, becaufe I have them not at present by me, I shall enquire more hereafter. See many of these cited in my Lord Cookes (*Coke*) Cap. of the Court of the President of Wales (Cap. 48, p. 242).

[To the above account are these two marginal notes]:

The Court of Marches granted an injunction ag't prosecuting a suit for debt in London; upon which the Court of Com: Pleas

¹ Selden's Notes on Drayton's *Polyolbion*; the latter work (pub. 1622) being "a chorographically description of all the Tracts, Rivers, Mountains, Forests, of this renowned Isle of Great Britain."

² 27 Henry VIII, cap. 26.

³ Selden further says: "The Barons that lived in them were called Lords-Marchers, and by the name of *Marchiones*, i.e., Marquesses. For so (*Lib. Rub. Scac.*) Roger of Mortimer (Matthew of Westm., lib. ii), James of Audeleg, Roger of Clifford, Roger of Leiburn, Haimo L'Estrange, Hugh of Tubervil, are called *Marchiones Wallia*, or Lords-Marchers of Wales; and Edw. III created Roger of Mortimer Earl of March, as if you should say, of the limits betwixt Wales and England." (Selden, Notes on Drayton.)

awards a prohibition to the Marches to surcease, & in case they did not an attachment. (Anderson, part i, fol. 279.)

Eschaet. 18 Edward IV. A writ directed [to] Nicho. Knyv-ton, Eschaet' in comit' Glouc' et Marchiis Wallie eid' com' adjacent', to take an inquisition of the lands of Isabell, late wife of Geo. Duke of Clarence.

(Rawl. MS., C. 358, ff. 15b-20.)

It would seem desirable for the object we have in view,¹ to consider the subject of the Welsh Marches under two distinct heads: first, the origin of the term in its application generally as a frontier line of defence; and secondly, the definement of its particular limits, site, and extent. The former of these has alone been considered in the foregoing account, and will receive further elucidation probably from the additional observations we propose to offer; but the latter has yet to be inquired into, and necessarily so, for there are vagueness and ambiguity in the expression "Marches", not so much in its general import or signification, as to its extent and limits, which a lapse of more than two hundred and fifty years has not tended to lessen, and which at the present day it will be difficult to remove. The term originally signified *the mark of any country's borders*, and in process of time was used to designate the whole *territory that adjoined that mark*. Hence the difficulty of assigning the true limits or extent of that territory which constituted the Marches of Wales. Where, in fact, was their line of demarcation? Was the term "Marches", as we take it, tantamount to an aggregation of lordships, baronies, or provinces, sepa-

¹ The further authorities for this paper are,—*Annali d'Italia* da Lodovico Antonio Muratori, 1762; Krantzius, *Wandalia*; *Metropolis*; *Chronica Regnorum Aquilonarium*; Doderidge, *Principality of Wales*, 1630; Selden, *Titles of Honor*, 1631; *Notes on Drayton's Polyolbion*; Heylyn's *Cosmography*, 1622; Matthew Paris, *Hist. Angl.*; Ordericus Vitalis; Historical MSS. Commission, vols. 4 and 5 (Bagot, Carew, and Cholmondeley Papers); with other references quoted *in loco*.

rating England from Wales? And if so, had this territory any precise or definite bounds?

In the origin such must clearly have existed; but the interval since their first establishment is so great, that all direct clue on these points may be said to be nearly or entirely lost, leaving us in a state of comparative ignorance as to their actual limits. It will, therefore, be the object of this paper, by refuting what they were not, to endeavour to shew what they in all probability were.

First, as to the *origin* of the Marches under notice. Both Selden¹ and Doderidge (writing, the one in 1614, and the other in 1629), expressly state how these lands or "Marches" were first acquired. The latter,² in his *Principality of Wales*, specifies them as the "*March grounds*", which were "*neither any part of Wales, neither any part of the Shires of England*" (p. 41); and shortly after he styles the same as "*Baronies Marchers*".³ Sel-

¹ John Selden, according to Haydn, statesman and jurist, was born in 1584, and died 1654. He was sent to the Tower for opposing in Parliament the illegal demands of Charles I in 1629.

² Sir John Doderidge, Knt., one of the Judges of the King's Bench, *temp.* James I.

³ We cannot do better than quote the entire passage from Doderidge, as to the creation or original acquirement of the Welsh Marches: "As touching the government of the Marches of Wales, it appeareth by divers ancient monuments that the Conqueror, after hee had conquered the English, placed divers of his nobility upon the confines and borders towards Wales, and erected the Earldom of Chester, being upon the borders of North Wales, to Palatine; and gave power unto the said persons thus placed upon those borders to make such conquests upon the Welsh as they by their strength could accomplish, holding it a very good policy, thereby not only to encourage them to be more willing to serve him, but also to provide for them at other men's cost. And hereupon further ordained that the lands so conquered should be holden of the Crowne of England *in capite*; and upon this and such like occasions divers of the nobility of England having lands upon the said borders of Wales, made roades [*raids*] and incursions upon the Welsh, whereby divers parts of that country *neere* or *towards* the said borders were wonne by the sword from the Welshmen, and were planted partly with English colonies; and the said lands so conquered were holden *per Baroniam*, and were called, therefore, *Baronys*

den (*Notes on Drayton's Polyolbion*) says "that by 'Marches' he understands those limits between England and Wales, which continuing from North to South, join the Welsh Shires to Hereford, Shropshire, and the English part, and were *divers Baronies* divided from any Shire until Henry VIII (27 Henry VIII, cap. s. 6)¹ by Act of Parliament annexed some to Wales, and others to England."

Thus we see, both in the opening pages of this inquiry, and the authorities just quoted, that the Marches originated in the conquest by certain Norman barons of portions of Wales conterminous with England. The preliminary question, however, will arise, whether such territory was at first appropriated for the sole purpose

Marchers. In such manner did Robert Fitz Hamon acquire unto himself, and such others as assisted him, the whole Lordship of Glamorgan; likewise Barnard Newmarch [Bernardus de Novo Mercato] conquered the Lordship of Brecknock; Hugh Lacy conquered the lands of Ewyas, called after his name Ewyas Lacy; and others did the like in other places of the Borders; all which were *Baronies Marchers*, and were holden by such the conquerors thereof in *capite* of the Crowne of England; and because they and their posterity might the better keepe the said lands so acquired, and that they might not bee withdrawne by suits of Law from the defence of that which they had thus subdued, the said Lordships, or lands so conquered, were ordained *Baronies Marchers*, and had a kind of Palatine jurisdiction erected in every [one] of them, and power to administer justice unto their tenants in every [one] of their Territories, having therein courts with divers privileges, franchises, and immunities; so that the writs of ordinary justice, out of the King's Courts, were for the most part not currant amongst them. Nevertheless, if the whole Barony had come in question, or that the strife had bene [between] two Barons-Marchers touching their territories or confines thereof, for want of a superiour they had recourse unto the King, their supream Lord; and in these and such like cases, where their own jurisdiction failed, justice was administered unto them in the Superiour Courts of the Realme. (13 Edw. III, Fitzh. Jurisdiction, 23; 47 Edw. III, 5, 6, 7; 6 Hen. V, Fitzh. Jurisdiction, 34; 7 H. VI, 35, 36.) And this was the state of the Government of the Marches of Wales both before and after the general conquest of Wales, made by King Edward the First, as hath been declared, until the seaven and twentieth Yearre of King Henry the Eighth." (Doderidge, *Principality of Wales*, pp. 37, 38.)

¹ See also 28 Edward III, cap. 2.

of forming a bulwark against the inroads of the Welsh, in the proper sense of the ancient Teutonic *Mark*, or Italian *Marca* (whence the derivation), or simply from love of conquest and spirit of aggrandisement. At the outset there can be no doubt that the Seignories or Lordships obtained by right of conquest by the Lords Marchers (as the barons were called who "lived in them", to use Selden's words), were the result of a policy which it was found convenient by the English kings to adopt for the purpose of subjugating the Welsh; but so soon as the conquerors had established themselves, and were left in undisputed exercise of their own authority, such Baronies formed a barrier to all future inroads, and thereby assumed the defensive character by which, as *Marches*, they are specially known; for however much, up to the time of Henry VIII, each Lord Marcher governed his acquired territory as to himself seemed best, quite irrespective of his Sovereign's authority,¹ he was still ever ready to assist the King² in any conflict against the Welsh. This independent lawlessness must be considered as a separate feature in the investigation. It was due to the circumstance that these barons were allowed from the first to assume and exercise their own authority, irrespective of Royalty; and to this must be traced the fact that the King's writ "did not run" in those parts; so also that outrages and excesses were committed there with impunity, which could not have happened in England; as

¹ No better proof can be had of this than when Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester and Hereford (of whom mention has been made) was called upon in the 9th Edward I to make answer to a plea, he refused to appear, alleging that he held his Seignorie by right of conquest, with regal, independent jurisdiction ["quod tenet terras suas in Glamorgan sicut *regale*, de suo et antecessorum *conquestu*"], and in common with other Lords-Marchers enjoying the same privileges, was not disposed to acknowledge superior authority in respect thereof, ["unde videtur ei, quod de hiis sine consideratione parium suorum Anglie, et marchesium Wallie, qui eisdem libertatibus in terris Walens' gaudent, non debet alicui respondere]." (Mic., 9 Edward I, Glouc', rot. 35.)

² *Ex gr.*, Hen. III (Matthew Paris *in loco*).

we see in the controversy, already alluded to, between the Earls of Hereford and Gloucester, in 20 Edward I, touching the tract of country in dispute between them, where the perpetrators of these acts well knew, "quod per libertatem suam *Marchie* possent evadere à penâ et periculo, que merito incurrisse debuissent, si extra *Marchiam* alibi in regno talem excessum perpetrassent." (Ryley's *Placita Parliamentaria*, 1661, p. 83). Still these matters did not alter their essentially defensive quality as Marches, though such inherent features gave them a character peculiarly their own, and probably not elsewhere traceable, save on the score of lawlessness, which was equally paramount in the Northern Marches, towards Scotland, and other subordinate Royalties formerly existing.¹

There can be no question, therefore, that in process of time, the name of *Marches*, as regards Wales, is identical, as a border-district, with the original Teutonic application of the term; equally so, in a defensive point of view, with the Northern borders, or Marches towards Scotland, which from first to last were organised purely for defensive purposes, and partook entirely of the nature of the original conditions under which such frontier defences were established. The Welsh Marches, however, retained the name as a district long after these conditions had passed away.

¹ *Ex gr.*, the Isle of Man.

(To be continued.)

NOTES RELATING TO GLAMORGANSHIRE.¹

*Copied from the Iolo MSS., in the possession of Lady Llanover,
by the Rev. W. Watkins, M.A.*

1. *The Butlers of Dunraven.*—"Tradition says that the last Arnold Butler had frequently put out false lights, which being taken for those on the island of Lundy, drew ships on the Skutsgar or Toscar Rock, when they were wrecked, and plundered of their cargoes by Arnold Butler. All his children but the youngest, an infant, went out in a very fine summer's day in a small yacht, which had often conveyed the plunder of the wrecked to Dunraven, to the Skutsgar, and moored the yacht on the sandy side of the Rock. A high spring tide carried the vessel away up Channel, leaving the young Butlers on the Rock, where they were soon drowned. The parents and all the servants and guests ran out on the alarm having been given, leaving the youngest child asleep; but when they returned, this child was found drowned also in a tub of milk, which had just been filled for making a cheese. He, in his endeavours to drink some of the milk, fell into the tub, wherein he was found dead. Some say that it was into a tub of sweetwort he fell. In the distraction occasioned by this dreadful event of losing all their children so suddenly, they (the Butlers) sold the estate, and went to live in Monmouthshire. This has ever since been considered by the country as a divine judgment on the Butlers for their infamous practice of having occasioned the loss of so many ships, all of which they always plundered; and not only that, but murdered the sailors also when they had reached the shore by swimming from the Rock. It is said that the prac-

¹ The words of the original have been faithfully preserved, all additions to them (left out of the originals merely for abbreviation) being printed within square brackets.

tice of plundering ships originated with the Butlers, was, as it were, established by them, and, alas! continued by the country people down almost to the present day. It is now nearly discontinued, to which the present more humane family of Dunraven have greatly contributed. Arnold Butler's children, with others, were lost on the Skulskwr, near Ogmore, about 17th of Queen Elizabeth's reign."

2. *Magna Charta*.—"In many of the manuscript pedigrees of the Bassets of Beaupré it is said that Sir Phillip, Lord of St. Hillary, and the first of the family at Beaupré, was the person who first arranged and drew up the copy of *Magna Charta* which King John was obliged by the barons to sign in Runnymede; that many of those met at Beaupré to assist in this plan and its arrangement. Sir Phillip Basset was Chancellor to Robert Fitzroy, Lord or Prince of Glamorgan, and afterward Lord Chief Justice of England; and as he was so in or about the time of King John, there may be some probability in this account. It is at least remarkable that such a tradition, both oral and written, should be retained and preserved in the family; and its being so would be equally remarkable if it should be proved to be erroneous. The drawing of *Magna Charta* was a thing of great notoriety, of the greatest importance; and we may very reasonably infer that this family, whose ancestor had such a principal hand in this national concern, should consider it as an honour, and preserve the memory of it for ages."

3. *Various Kinds of Yokes*.—"The oldest Welsh MSS. on agriculture mention the *hir-iau*, or long yoke, having six oxen to it, that draw five plows. The Welsh Laws also mention the *hir-iau*. Whether this is capable of modern improvement must be left to the judgements of ingenious mechanics. I, for my part, think it may be revived on an improved principle. 'Pedair iau y sydd; un yw y Fer-iau, i ddau ychen ac un aradr; ail, y Fer-iau i dri ychen a dwy aradr: trydydd, y Mei-iau i bedwar ychen a thair aradr. Pedwarydd, yr Hir-iau

i chwech ychain a phum aradr.'" [There are four kinds of yokes : one for two oxen and one plough, one for three oxen and two ploughs, the third for four oxen and three ploughs; and the long yoke for six oxen and five ploughs.]

4. *The Title of Penrhaith*.—"Penrhaith, the most ancient title of sovereignty in Britain ; i.e, chief or foreman of the *Rhaith*, or senatorial assembly. If contentions arose between the Princes of *Dinevwr* and *Aberffraw*, the Prince of *Mathraval* was Penrhaith, the supreme or sovereign, and had authority to assemble a *Rhaith*,—twenty-five from *Aberffraw*, and twenty-five from *Dinevwr*, having himself the casting vote ; which, however, was not arbitrary, but a result of the *Rhaith Gwlad*, or *Gorsedd ddygynnull*, of his own principality. In a dispute between *Aberffraw* and *Mathraval*, *Dinevwr* was Penrhaith ; if between *Mathraval* and *Dinevwr*, *Aberffraw* was Penrhaith. Besides these, the *Pencenedl* of every tribe or family could, by *Gosteg un dydd a blwyddyn*, assemble the *Rhaith Gwlad*, whenever he had an occasion, in behalf of his kinsman, or one of his *cenedl* (tribe). He possessed this power independently of the sovereign prince of the *Talaith*, or realm, and could even summon him to *Rhaith Gwlad*, to give an account of his actions, and to answer for them. If the *Pencenedl* was absent, the next in constitutional order was to act ; and in the case of his absence, the next to him again in such order ; and so down to the *Plainant* or *Claimant* himself, who could in this *ultimatum* of the case assemble a *Rhaith Gwlad* by *Gosteg un dydd a blwyddyn*. On the principles of this ancient British constitution there was an ultimate case, wherein every man could lawfully exercise the powers and authority of a king."

5. *Quakers' Yard*.—"Inscription on a tombstone in Quakers' Yard, in the parish of Merthyr Tydvil (or Llanvabon), on the high road to Cardiff : 'Here lyeth the body of Lydia Phell, who departed this Life the 20 of December 1699, ag'... (The age is obliterated.)

Lydia Phell, it is traditionally said, was a Quaker who had a freehold property in this neighbourhood. She gave the ground walled about, as it still remains, to be to the Society of Friends for a place of worship. It was continued as such till within the memory of many still living, of which I myself am one; and I have been twice at a meeting of Divine worship there. It has a stone bench all around it. The wall is 6 or 7 feet high, with a door on the east side. It is still the property of the Friends, by whom the wall has been repaired in 1821.

"The traditional account of Lydia Phell is, that she was a single woman who had bought the estate, and lived on it; that it was intended to build a Meeting House there, but that most of the Society in these parts emigrated with William Penn to Pennsylvania; and that after the death of Lydia Phell, what remained of them here joined the Society at Tref y Rhyg, where a Meeting House, said to be the oldest in Wales, had been built by Mr. Bevan, of whom the present (or late) Joseph Gurney Bevan, of London, is a descendant.

"Lydia Phell is said to have been very rich, and was very charitable; that on every first day of the week she attended at the Yard to worship, on which occasions she was numerously attended by her poor friends and neighbours, however bad the weather might be. There is hereabout an obvious predilection in favour of the Friends to this very day; and were it tolerably frequented by ministers, a very decent Society might be most probably gathered there. Quakers' Yard stands in a secluded valley, on a gently rising ground, above the romantic river Taf.

"George Fox, the founder of the Society of Friends, married a daughter, or, as some say, a sister, of Judge Phell. *Quere*, was Lydia Phell a sister or any other relation of Mr. Fox? I have enquired a good deal, and cannot find that there ever was any other person besides herself, of the surname of Phell, in this part of the country."

6. *Aberthaw Harbour*.—"About the time of Charles the First there were two large vessels employed on the West India trade, the owners being the Spencers of Marsh House, and Merchant Nichols, one of the Ham Nichols. Cargoes were brought up by lighters to Booth Cellars or Warehouses and to Marsh House. At the Booth Cellars it was at that time a very common thing to take £100 of a morning for sugar and other West India produce. The merchants and owners were ruined, and of course the trade, in the civil wars. The ruins of the Cellars (as the warehouses were called) are still to be seen at Booth."

7. *Primitive Iron Smelting*.—"Anciently the method of smelting iron [in Glamorgan] was in Bloomeries. The ore, charcoal, and limestone, were in due proportion heaped together in the form of a tumulus, similar to what are now called charcoal-pits, or the heaps of cordwood as put together for being converted into charcoal; and, like these, well covered over with earth or sods. But for iron there was, it is said, a kind of funnel of iron set up in the middle, on the top of the heap thus formed, to give vent to the smoke. Below, on or near the ground, there were two, three, four, or more, pair of large bellows fixed or hung to posts, in a manner similar to that in which blacksmiths hang their bellows. When the blower had raised the upper part of the bellows by pressing down the arm or handle, he stepped up on it, that it might thus be pressed down and blow with greater force, and more effectually blow. Such a bellows was termed *megin dan draed*, i.e., a bellows under feet. At the base of the heap were formed two, three, or four holes, into which the noses of the bellows were inserted, and closely luted about them with well tempered potter's clay (of the country); and thus were the fires blown, the smoke finding its vent at the central funnel. The fires were thus intensely kept up until the ore was smelted; and as often as the fire appeared through the covering, more earth, or clay, or sods, was added to cover it as long as pos-

sible. When the ore was smelted, the heap (*marteg*) was opened, and the metal conducted into moulds in sand, to form it into pig-iron. It was then cast into moulds, also for boiling pots, poinets, or killets, etc. For the purpose of rendering the iron malleable, it was melted over several times : tradition says nine times. It was afterwards heated for the hammer and anvil, and so worked until it became fit [for] general use ; and tradition says that was better iron than any that has ever been made in a different way. For converting it into steel, they passed it through the fire in a proper process many times ; some say nine times. The fires for such purposes were made, in addition to charcoal, of horns, hoofs of horses and cattle, bones, and other animal substances, in due proportion. After it had passed through the whole process, it was (witness tradition) most excellent steel. Those old iron-makers, or, if you will, iron-masters, had, it seems, a strong predilection for the number *nine*, or at least tradition has it for them ; but the following ancient triad indicates clearly that steel was passed through *nine fires* : ‘Tri chaled byd ; y maen cellt, *dur naw-gwynias*, a chalon mab y crinwas’ (the three hardest things in the world, a flint stone, *the steel of nine fires*, and the heart of a miser).”

8. *Land Inclosure in the County*.—“The county [of Glamorgan] seems to have been enclosed from pretty remote times. Dafydd ap Gwilym, anno 1380, says of it,

‘Gwlad dan gaead yn gywair,
Lle nod gwyth llawn yd a gwair.’

(A county enclosed in good order, a place of great note, abounding in corn and hay.)

“A MS. history in Welsh, of the Lords Marchers of Glamorgan, says that in the civil wars of Owain Glyndwr all the hedges and enclosures of the county were burnt and otherwise destroyed ; that the county lay in that condition, in great part, till the time of Jasper Duke of Bedford, on whom Henry VII bestowed this

Lordship Marcher. He bountifully assisted the county to reinclose the land, built a great many houses, planted great numbers of orchards, [and] eased the county of many of its grievances.

"Leland represents the county as inclosed about the year 1430.

"Rhys Meyrig, of Cottrell in this county, [who] wrote a history of Glamorgan in the time of Elizabeth, a copy of which is in the British Museum, says that he remembered old people who had seen that part of the country between the high Post Road, as it was called, and Barry, open and uninclosed. This implies that it was in his time inclosed, and had been so ever since the first part of the reign of Henry VII, as Jasper died before him. And his saying that he remembered old men that saw the country uninclosed, must refer to a period so far back; and thus his account corresponds with my Welsh MS. account.

"The same Welsh MS. says that Sir Gilbert de Clare, Lord of Glamorgan (he married Jane de Acres, daughter to Edward I, whence we know the time wherein he lived), built 2,000 cottages, giving them to the poor of the country, and planted orchards that they might have good fruits and wine, as the MS. says; and in the populous villages he built the houses now called Church (*the word is very illegible*) houses. The upper apartments are halls, [in which] law courts, baron, [and] parish courts (vestries) were held; and where markets were held every Sunday morning on meats, meal, cheese, butter, etc.; and therein the assemblies of dance and song (so the Welsh phrase it) were held as often as the inhabitants pleased.

"These structures still remain in their original form. The lower apartments are mostly inhabited by the parish poor. Above them [is] a large room [with] a stairs to it from without, which would in most country towns in the kingdom be at this day esteemed a good town hall, chiefly used at present for schoolrooms, for dancing as of old, and sometimes for vestries, the

meetings of benefit societies, etc.; now and then as Methodist preaching places : this and the dance often succeeding one another."

9. *Cows and Horses Yoked*.—"It is traditionally said in some places in the mountains, that of old they habituated their cattle, cows as well as oxen, to be saddled, and to carry manure, etc., where wheel-carriages could not go. If true, it is to be much lamented that ever such a practice was discontinued, and it should be revived. The practice of yoking cows as well as oxen to the plough is not quite forgotten. I have seen it two or three times. Tradition says that horses were formerly yoked, and I have had a horse-yoke described to me. Two horses yoked, and a single horse before them, was esteemed a sufficient plough-team."

MEDIÆVAL PEMBROKESHIRE.

In Pembrokeshire, and more particularly in its southern portion, are found stone roofs which are the distinguishing features of the churches of that district. Their peculiar character is fully described in the valuable paper on "The Architectural Antiquities of South Pembrokeshire", by Mr. E. A. Freeman, read at the Tenby Meeting in 1852, and published in the *Archæologia Cambrensis* of that year, pp. 162-202. Although military and domestic buildings are included in the article, they occupy a small space in comparison with that which is devoted to the examination of the ecclesiastical remains.

In describing the tall, narrow towers of the churches, Mr. Freeman shews that they were, no doubt, constructed not merely as belfries, but as secure places for temporary retreat in cases of sudden attacks. He notices other peculiar features; but these occur in other districts. There is, however, one distinguishing feature

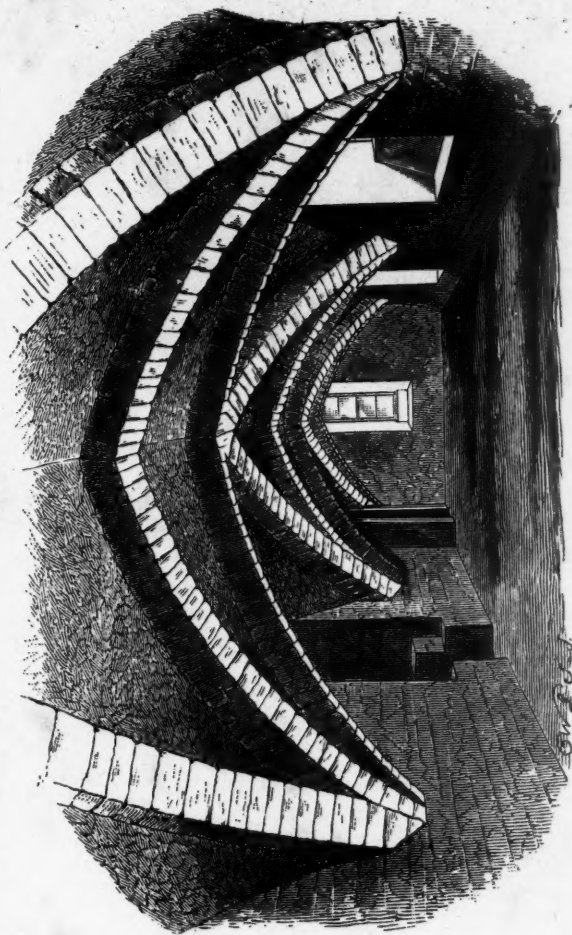
which occurs only in Pembrokeshire. This is the stone roof described by Mr. Freeman as a "perfectly plain, pointed, barrel-vault without impost, rib, or anything to break or mask it. It is simply an inclination of the walls on each side; and when the church is small and low, it gives almost the appearance of a cavern." This description applies also to the roofs of domestic buildings, numerous instances of which remain, although several have been removed within the memory of the present generation, as, for example, the building adjoining the churchyard at Tenby, said to have been the parish poor-house, which was removed in 1866. Examples of these vaulted roofs in domestic remains exist at the partly ruined house at Lydstep, on the right hand side of the road from Tenby to Manorbeer, which has been variously described as a hunting-seat of Bishop Gower, or the *palace* occupying the site of Llys Castle, where a king of Dyfed is said to have held his court. The peasants of the district, within the last fifteen or sixteen years, called it the "Place of Arms", and probably it is still known by that name. It is, however, only the remains of a larger building which must have been at one time of considerable importance. There still remain several vaulted rooms; some of which, however, are unprovided with chimneys or windows. A view of the exterior will be found in vol. xiii of the 3rd Series of the Journal (1867), p. 366. On the opposite side of the road is another early house with similar vaulted roof, but not so old or interesting as the "Place of Arms". The same roofs are found in the buildings adjoining the churchyard of Manorbeer, and in the oldest part of Scotsborough House, near Tenby, although in this latter case the upper part of the vault has been destroyed; but sufficient is left to shew what it was in its original form. Numerous other examples might be mentioned, but they are not so common as in churches.

If these are common enough, yet examples of genuine groined vaulting are very rare. Mr. Freeman says that

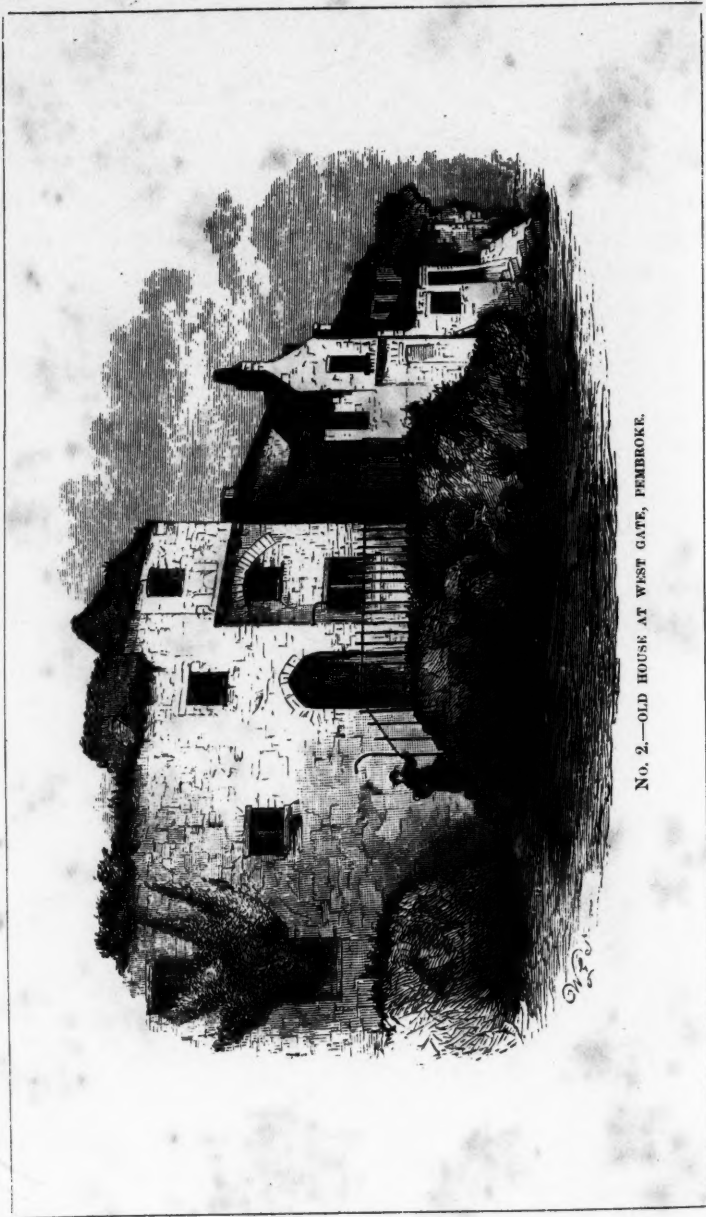
it only occurs in one or two of the towers at Robeston and Warren ; but in this latter instance only skeleton springers remain. In the south chapels of Cheriton and Gumfreston plain cross-ribs are thrown across to disguise, as Mr. Freeman thinks, "a roof of the ordinary construction". At Haverfordwest is a house, on the left hand side as one ascends the hill, and near St. Mary's Church. The cellar of it has an early groined roof with massive ribs. In the belfry of the church is another example of the same kind of roof which is also said to exist in the porch of Nolton Church. At St. David's, in the Cathedral and adjoining buildings, are also remains of the same character. But our observations are limited to the English speaking portion of the county.

In a few of the castles within this district are remains of groined vaults, as in Carew Castle ; where, however, the ribs have been knocked away at some period. In Picton and Newport Castles still remain examples, on the ground-floors, of the round towers ; but in the former case a chamber has been utilised as a beer-cellar, and has somewhat suffered in consequence.

The cellars of Stackpool Court, the sole remaining relics of the former Castle, furnish a fine example of the ribbed barrel-vault, which remind one of the inferior similar work of the transept of Manorbeer Church, although the ribs are not set so close together. The masonry in the latter case is so rude and coarse that it must have been intended to be plastered as at present. But the most perfect example of a groined roof is that of the basement of Monkton Hall, known as the Prior's Hall, or according to the author of the *Domestic Architecture of the Middle Ages*, the Great Hall or the Charity Hall. Mr. Cobb, in his excellent description of it, which appears in the *Archæologia Cambrensis* of 1880 (pp. 248-252), calls it simply the "old Hall", as its original use is somewhat uncertain. The character of this vaulted basement will be best understood by the accompanying illustration (cut No. 1) from the accurate



No. 1.—BASEMENT CHAMBER, MONKTON HALL.



No. 2.—OLD HOUSE AT WEST GATE, PEMBROKE.

pencil of the Society's artist, Mr. W. G. Smith ; but it is necessary to state that the side-walls are plastered over, so that the original rubble-work is not now seen ; while the spaces between the ribs, which are good coursed masonry, have been necessarily treated in the same way. In both cases the plastering was a matter of necessity ; but the general effect of the vaulting is not impaired. The low pitch, so different from the ordinary rule, was a necessity, as the vault supports a chamber above. This curious building has been used as a farmer's house, as a poor-house, as a carpenter's shop, until it has been put to its present and more satisfactory use, as a reading-room for the younger inhabitants. Changes, indeed, have been necessarily made ; but none of them have interfered with or injured the building, which is unlike any other now remaining in South or North Wales.

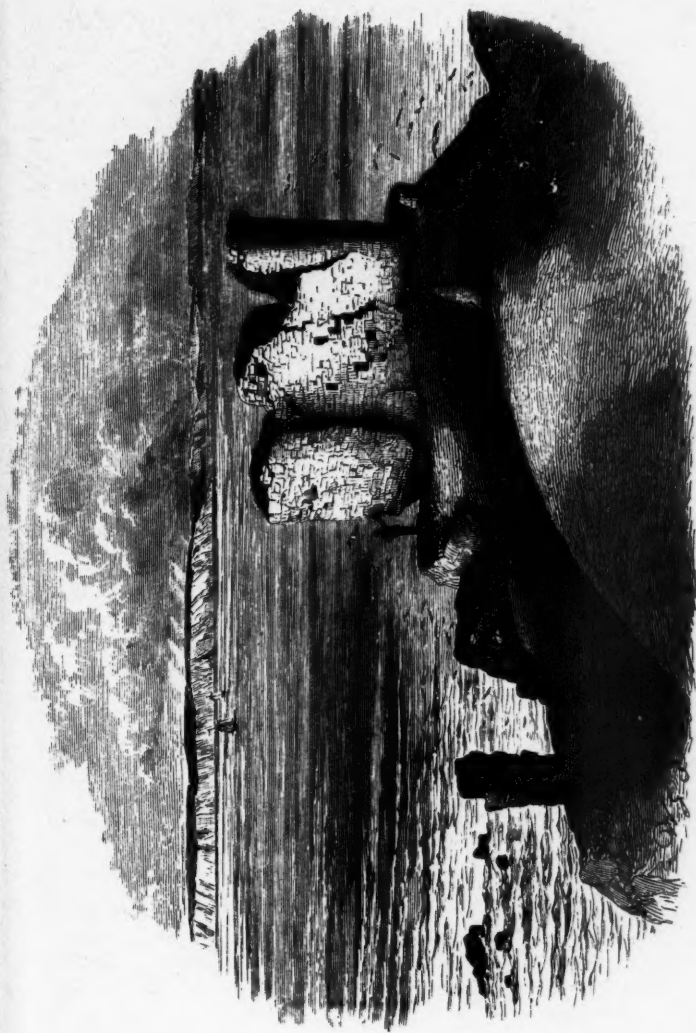
During the Pembroke Meeting of the Association, among other objects two attracted attention, one of which will probably, in a short time, be a thing of the past. We allude to the houses near the remains of the West Gate. They appear to be the only remaining houses of the mediæval town, and may give some notion of what ancient Pembroke was, if the majority of the houses were similar. The illustration (cut No. 2), however accurate as regards the building, is not so as not shewing the slope of the road either in its present or former condition. The road now falls from the landing, where the figure is, to the site of the Gate,—an incline about 1 in 12. Originally, the door by the figure opened on the road, so that the slope must have been much greater. What looks like a natural precipice is merely a modern cutting in the limestone rock, without verdure or bushes. At the back is a good specimen of the so called Flemish chimney, which is not visible from the spot where the drawing was made. It has, however, ceased to be an appendage to this house, having been appropriated to the equally interesting building nearer the Gateway.

Of its history nothing is known, nor even is the ownership free from doubt,—a doubt which has prevented a member who was desirous of buying it, from carrying out his intention. Under these circumstances its destruction, either by weather or by man, seems inevitable. It was called “old John Dunn’s house”; which is all that is known, and which is certainly very little, as even all memory of the man has passed away. The other building belongs to St. Mary’s parish. There is a good window which looked to the south, over the probable line of parapet of the town wall. It is now blocked; but if opened, it might give some evidence as to the date of this building, which may be of the fifteenth century. It is not, however, easy to say how far local styles remain in fashion in any particular district after they have passed away elsewhere. These remains of ancient Pembroke are certainly picturesque, and worthy, on that account, of being given in the pages of the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, where their likeness will remain long after the buildings themselves have vanished.

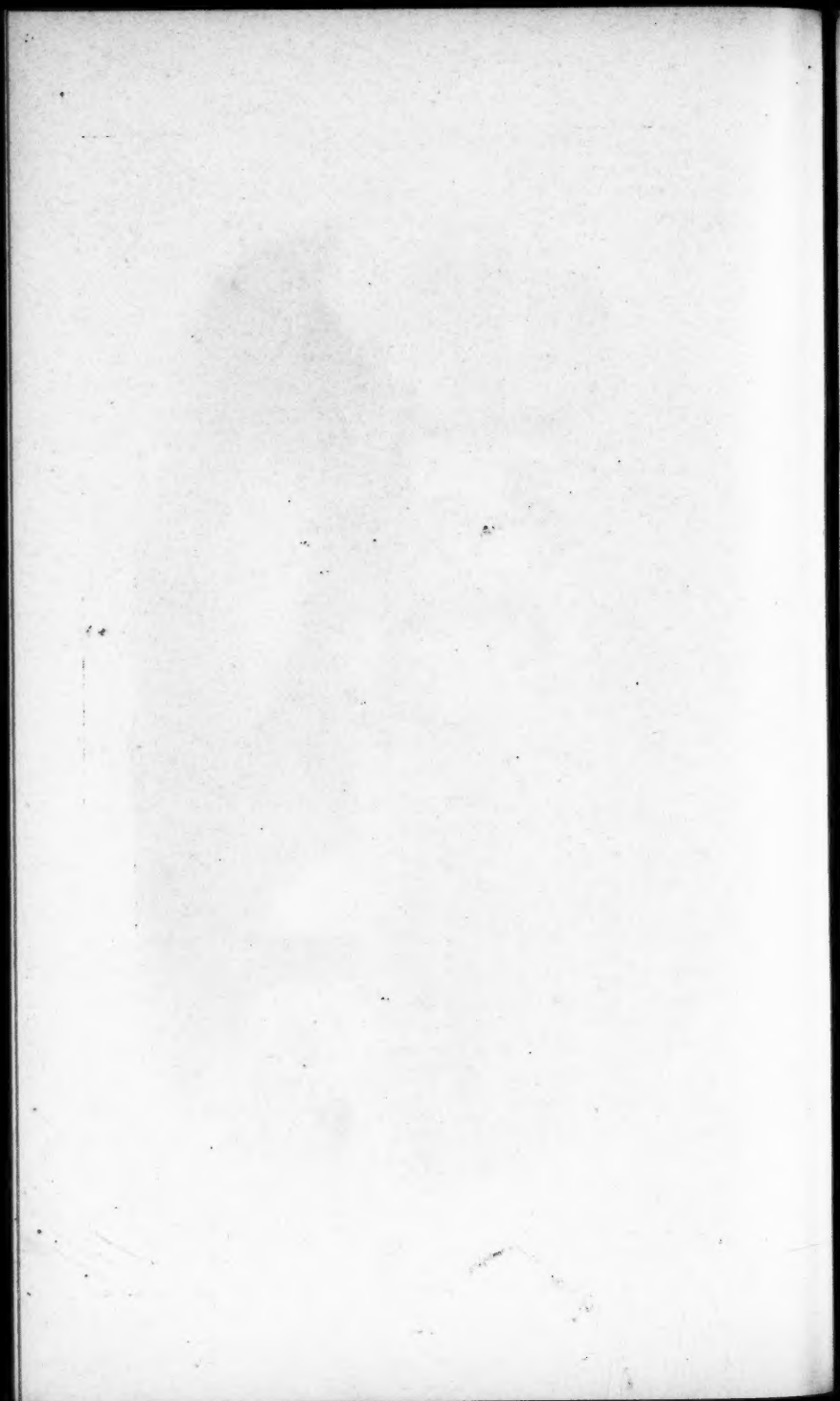
For most of the above details we are indebted to J. R. Cobb, Esq., the Local Secretary for Breconshire.

Another remnant of former times is the Blockhouse, an illustration of which is also here given. (Cut No. 3.) It is situated in Angle (or as it is sometimes called, but erroneously, Nangle), which is, in fact, a corruption of *in angulo*. Nangle, however, has been in use in early times, as the Nangles of Ireland derive their name from this place, their ancestor having joined Strongbow in his invasion of Ireland. A large portion of the county Leitrim was granted to De Angle after the Conquest. The family were subsequently palatinate barons of Navan, County Meath. The Lords Nangle of Connaught became Irish, and took the names of Mac Hostilo, now corrupted into Costello. (See “Irish Families of Welsh Extraction” in the *Arch. Camb.* of 1852, p. 139.)

The situation of this ruin is one of great beauty, looking over the entrance of the Haven, towards Dale.



NO. 3.—NANGLE BLOCK HOUSE.



There is another called West Blockhouse, as this one is known as the East, on Dale Point, exactly opposite. The contributor of the account of Dale, given in Lewis' *Topographical Dictionary*, says Blockhouses were built here in the reign of Elizabeth; a chain, as it is stated, being drawn across the mouth of the Haven, from St. Anne's "to Nangle Point on the opposite coast, to obstruct the passage of the Spanish Armada". These points are nearly two miles apart, a fact which shews the value of the tradition. The Blockhouse at Dale corresponding to the one at Nangle Point, may have served as a signal-station; but they could not by guns prevent the entrance of vessels, unless those guns approached those of the present time in projectile force. But however this may be, the name indicates for what purpose they were erected. George Owen, the historian of Pembrokeshire, states that this Blockhouse was built in the time of Henry VIII. Lewis Morris assigns it to the reign of Elizabeth; but does not appear to have any authority for his statement, unless it may be the tradition which speaks of the long chain to cut off all approach to the Haven; whereas, on the other hand, Fenton (p. 403) justly argues that George Owen, who lived about that time, and made a survey and drew up an exact account of Milford Haven for the Earl of Pembroke, could hardly have made such a mistake. The fact that Henry built on the south and east coasts low castles commanding convenient landing-places (as, for example, on the coast between Rye and Winchelsea), may lead us to suppose that he might have taken similar precautions at the Haven, changing only the character of the works to suit that of the ground. The eastern part of Brighton was formerly protected by a block-house built by Henry, but the removal of which, about a hundred years ago, was made necessary by the encroachment of the sea. A similar defensive work was also erected by him to protect the entrance to Southampton Bay, and still exists, with some small additions. It is well known as Calshot

Castle, a small work more picturesque than useful as a stronghold. Hurst Castle, on the same coast, is another of Henry's building.

In describing the building, Fenton remarks that the parts projecting over the precipice "are held up by the strength of the cement, which seems harder than the stone itself." Although a native of the county, he does not seem to have been impressed with the great superiority of Pembrokeshire lime, otherwise he would hardly have "been inclined to infer that something had been here begun by the Romans for the security of the harbour", of the importance of which he suggests that they were fully aware. In confirmation of this theory he states that he has noted traces of a Roman road from St. David's (or Menevia), coastwise, to Dale, where the opposite Blockhouse stands; and thinks that "Carausius, that great naval commander, and a native of the country, must have justly estimated the value of such a harbour." But unfortunately for this tempting story, the masonry has nothing Roman in its composition. The Roman road, coastwise, that he traced, no one, it is believed, has been fortunate enough to find; for the only known road to Menevia, or Menapia, is the well known Via Julia, with its station Ad Vicesimum. And lastly, the Menapia which was the birthplace of Carausius was not in Pembrokeshire at all. It was a district between the Scheldt and the Meuse. Carausius probably, therefore, knew little about Milford Haven.

We may, then, take George Owen's statement, namely that it was built in the time of Henry VIII, to be the correct one; and if the one on the opposite side of the water is the same, the two are unique specimens of sea-coast defences in Wales.

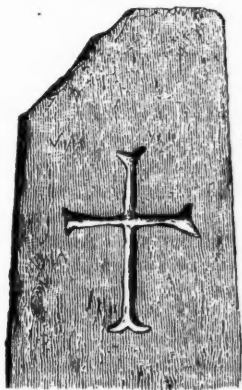
It is only necessary to mention that we are indebted to Mr. Worthington G. Smith for the faithful and beautifully executed illustrations.

E. L. BARNWELL.

May 24, 1881.

THE CALDY ISLAND STONE.

IN vol. i of the 3rd Series of the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, at p. 258, Prof. J. O. Westwood gives a description and illustration of this stone. In vol. xi of the 4th Series, p. 294, Prof. Westwood returns to the subject with a second illustration from my graver. Little remains to be added to these two descriptions and illustrations. The stone is 5 feet $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, 1 foot $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches wide at its narrowest part, and 4 inches thick. The first illustration was engraved from a rubbing only. I made myself familiar with the first cut before I made the camera-lucida drawing on the spot. Prof. Westwood, in his first description, says the letters are "rudely formed"; but in this (if he means that they are thick and clumsy) he has been misled by the rubbing, as the actual letters are sharp, and somewhat thin, and



to me elegant. The limbs of the cross, described as "somewhat furcate", I could only see as perfectly straight and flat. A comparison of my engraving, letter for letter, with that of 1855, taken with Prof. Westwood's reading, cannot fail to be instructive. The differences in

some of the letters, and the difference in the proportion of the upper limb of the cross, are singular. It seems strange that the additional Ogham marks of the right hand edge, the crosses on the edges, and the cross on the back, were at first overlooked. The cross at the back has not till now been illustrated; so that the present engraving, chiefly founded on a sharp and excellent rubbing kindly supplied by J. T. Hawksley, Esq., lord of the manor, and aided by my memory and a rough sketch I made on the spot, will suffice to complete the illustration of this remarkable stone. The cross at the back is similar in size with that of the front. It is, however, considerably lower down on the stone; it is much more rude in execution, and all the limbs are boldly furcate at the extremities.

The stone is in good preservation, and the inscription is remarkably clear and sharp. It only remains to be added that the present engraving, and that of the entire stone at p. 294 of vol. xi, 4th Series, are both engraved to an uniform scale, viz., 1 inch to the foot.

W. G. SMITH.

HISTORICAL MSS. COMMISSION.

(Continued from p. 225, Vol. xi.)

1626, April 25. Order for the discharge of Griffith, undersheriff of Carnarvon, in custody for arresting Henry Griffith, servant to the Bishop of Bangor. Annexed: 1. List of persons to be sent for to answer for contempt in the matter of Griffith's arrest. Signed by the Lord Keeper Coventry. 2. Petition of Sir Thomas Williams, Bart., High Sheriff of the County of Carnarvon, to Lord Keeper Coventry.

1626, May 4. Warrant to pay Jenkin Lloyd, Esq., £25 for the press of one hundred men, and their conduct from Montgomery to Chester, for service in Ireland.

1626, May 4. Warrant to pay John Wynne £7 11s. 8d. for the press of fifty men, and their conduct from Merionethshire to Chester, for service in Ireland.

1626, May 16. Petition of Anne Toy, praying their Lordships to hear her suit against the Bishop of Bangor and Sir Robert Mansell.

1626, May 16. Petition of John Edwards the elder, of Chirke, that the order made by this House in his cause against his son may be discharged.

1626, May 16. Petition of John Edwards the younger, that the order made by their Lordships on the 9th of July 1625, in his suit against John Edwards the elder, may be confirmed.

1628, April 29. Petition of James Whitney, one of the clerks of the Convocation for the diocese of Llandaff. Richard Colley, petitioner's servant, has been arrested by the Under-Sheriff of Hereford. Claims the ancient privilege of the House of Convocation, and prays that the persons offending may be sent for to answer their contempt.

1628, May 16. Petition of the Lower House of Convocation. Richard Colley, servant to James Whitney, a member of their House, has been arrested, contrary to privilege, by the under-sheriff of Hereford. Prays that he may be punished for his offence.

1640, April 14. Certificate of the return of Thomas Glynne, Esq., as knight of the shire for the county of Carnarvon, and John Glynne, Esq., for the town of Carnarvon.

1640, April 15. Certificate of the return of Sir Edward Lloyd to be Burgess for the town of Montgomery.

1640, April 15. Certificate that William Herbert, of Cardiff, Esq., returned to be Burgess for that town, is improperly described as mayor. The said town is "no mayor town", and the indenture has accordingly been amended by the Sheriff.

1640, April 15. Certificate of the return of Francis Lloyd, Esq., to be Burgess for the town of Carmarthen.

1640, Nov. 10. Copy of warrant for issuing a new writ for election of a Member for Carnarvonshire.

1640, Nov. 14. List of the sums received at the Exchequer from the laity of each county of England and Wales, for the fifth subsidy under the Act 3 Car. I, cap. 7, amounting to £54,407 18s. 6½d., and the fifth subsidy of the nobility, amounting to £3,910 18s. 0d.

1640-1, Jan. 21. Petition of Hugh Morgan that John Vaughan may be called upon to answer for refusing to deliver up to petitioner certain lands in Merionethshire in compliance with two orders of the Court of Requests.

1640-1, Feb. 1. Petition of Hugh Gwyn Ap Humphrey and his mother Mary Gwyn for relief against a decree in Chancery, made by the late Lord Keeper Finch, touching certain lands in Carnarvonshire.

1640-1, Feb. 9. Petition of John Watkins, B.D. Henry Morgan, clerk, was lately presented to the rectory of St. Fagan's;

but a charge of simony was brought against him, and petitioner obtained presentation from the King. Morgan is dead; but the Bishop of Llandaff will not institute petitioner upon the King's title. Prays for relief.

1640-1, Feb. 27. Petition of the nobility, knights, gentry, ministers, freeholders, and inhabitants of the County Palatine of Chester [to the High and Honourable Court of Parliament]. Many petitions are circulated in the country in favour of innovations in religion, the opinions contained in which petitions the present petitioners entirely disclaim. While thanking Parliament for what has already been done in redressing grievances and repressing Popery, they deprecate any change in episcopal government, which they believe to be far more conducive to religious liberty than the Presbyterian. They annex a copy of a petition or libel dispersed abroad, and also a copy of certain positions preached in the county, which they believe to contain matter dangerous to the peace both of Church and State. (L. J., iv, 174.) Annexed:

1. Copy of petition or libel referred to in preceding. Petitioners' grievances are insupportable; and thanking God for the opportunity of representing them to Parliament, they complain of grievances: 1st, ecclesiastical,—the usurping prelates and their lawless, dependent officers; and their irregular manner of worshipping God, which they cruelly impose upon petitioners. The prelates are the Pope's substitutes, and lord it over God's heritage, both the pastors and people. Petitioners pray for the utter abolition of bishops, their impious courts, their dependent officers, their corrupt canons, book of articles, and "English refined Mass-Book of Common Prayer, with all their Popish, significant ceremonies therein contained." 2ndly, civil miseries: payment of tithes, delay in suits at law, county courts kept on Monday, and petitioners thereby obliged to travel on Sunday; the country very destitute of schoolmasters, excessive fines imposed by some landlords. Pray for government according to the will of God revealed in the Old and New Testaments.

2. Certain positions preached at St. John's Church in Chester by Mr. Samuel Eaton, a minister lately returned from New England. Names of parsons and vicars are anti-Christian; pastors, etc., should be chosen by the people; things of human invention (the Book of Common Prayer) are unsavoury and loathsome unto God; each congregation should censure its own members, and not allow this power to the bishops; episcopal government should be abolished, and those who helped not in the work should be cursed, like Meroz; "the power of the keys" belongs to the whole congregation.

These papers are stitched up in vellum, with 113 pages of schedules of signatures.

1640-1, March 3. Petition of Griffith Griffiths [to H. C.] prays for inquiry into the conduct of Richard Wynne, who having bought the office of under-sheriff of Montgomery, is a great exactor of fees and oppressor of the county.

1641, May 8. Return of the payments made by the laity of each county in England and Wales to a subsidy in the seventh year of James I, amounting in all to £71,630 9s. 11d.

1641, May 31. Certificate of the magistrates and ministers of the city of Chester, that there have been no such disturbances in any of the churches there as are mentioned in their Lordships' Order of the 22nd of April last. Pray for grave consideration of those who have wrongfully informed the House. (L. J., iv, 262.)

Annexed: 1. Copy of order mentioned in preceding (L. J., iv, 225), *in extenso*.

1641, June 19. Petition of Mary Hughes, spinster, for relief against Thomas Hughes and Roger Middleton touching a mortgage of the manor of Esclusham in the county of Denbigh.

1641, August 14. Draft order for the protection of Thomas Bushell, Undertaker of His Majesty's Mines Royal in the county of Cardigan, in the working of the same. (L. J., iv, 364.)

Annexed: 1. Affidavit of William Bushell, steward to Thomas Bushell, respecting the mines and the opposition of Henry Middleton to the working of the same. 11 Aug.

2. Certificate of Sir Robert Heath. 11 Aug.

3. Paper respecting the case. Bushell having put in bail, pursuant to order, prays that he may be put into quiet possession of the mines.

1641, Aug. 25. Copy of order for the seizure of the temporalities of the Bishop of St. David's until he make appearance in Parliament. (L. J., iv, 376.) *In extenso*.

1641, Aug. 30. The Commons' declaration upon the complaint of Sir John Corbett, Bart., against John Earl of Bridgewater; William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury; Henry Earl of Manchester, Lord Privy Seal; Francis Lord Cottington, Edward Lord Newburgh, Sir Henry Vane, and Sir Francis Windebank, Knights and Secretaries of State. In 1632 the Earl of Bridgewater, then Lord Lieutenant of Shropshire, appointed Edward Barton muster-master for the county, and, contrary to law, imposed upon the county a large yearly sum, afterwards reduced to £50. At a sessions before Sir John Corbett and others, this was presented to the grand jury as a grievance, and some doubt arising, Sir John said that the Petition of Right would deter-

mine that question, and desired that it might be read. For this he was put out of the commission of the peace, attached, and brought before the Council Board, and was committed to the Fleet, and there kept prisoner twenty-four weeks and three days, the plague being then in London. During this imprisonment an information was exhibited against him in the Star Chamber, containing no other matters than the doings aforesaid; to which Sir John was compelled to answer, and to enter into bond for £2,000 to attend from time to time. The cause was published three years since, but never brought to a hearing. The Commons impeach the Earl of Bridgewater and the other persons above mentioned for their several shares in these illegal proceedings. (L. J., iv, 383.)

1641, Dec. 30. Petition of divers of the nobility, justices, gentry, ministers, freeholders, and other inhabitants of the County Palatine of Chester [to the King, Lords, and Commons]. Petitioners are very apprehensive of the dangerous consequences of innovation, and much scandalised at the present disorders. The holy, public service is so fast rooted by a long settled continuance in the Church that it cannot be altered, unless by the advice and consent of some national synod, without universal discontent. Petitioners pray that no innovation of doctrine or liturgy may be admitted, and that some speedy course may be taken to suppress schismatics and separatists whose factious spirit endangers the peace of both Church and State. The petition is signed by 9,556 persons. (L. J., iv, 482.) *In extenso*.

1641. The names of great recusants that live in and near the town of Monmouth, where the magazine of the county is, with the value of their estates, and the distances at which they live from the town.

1641. Petition of John Owen that Lewis Nanney may be called upon to answer for his misdemeanors touching certain leases of the manor of Estimawer in the county of Merioneth.

1641. Petition of Sir William Williams, Bart., prays for a determination of the cause between his brother Thomas Williams and himself, touching the will of their late father. The matter was referred to the Bishop of Lincoln, who gave a judgment to which petitioner, though a loser thereby, is ready to submit; but his brother declines so to do.

Obituary.

IN the last Number of the Society's Journal we had the melancholy duty of recording the deaths of two of our oldest members, both octogenarians. We have on the present occasion a still more painful announcement to make, namely the death of EDWARD BREESE of Portmadoc, which occurred on the 10th of March last, in London. He was born in Caermarthen, April 13, 1835; so that he was removed at the early age of 45. He was the son of the Rev. John Breese by Margaret, second daughter of Mr. David Williams of Saeson, Carnarvonshire. On the resignation of his uncle, the late Mr. David Williams, who for some years represented the county of Merioneth in Parliament, he was appointed by the Court of Chancery Receiver of the extensive Madoc estate. He was also Clerk of the Peace for the county of Merioneth, and to the Magistrates of the Portmadoc and Penrhyn divisions. In 1862 he purchased the Dolwriog estate, which in the fifteenth century formed part of the lands of Rhys Goch Eryri. At a later period he became by purchase the owner of a smaller property, but of greater interest as containing the great Roman camp of Tomen y Mur, which, had his life been spared, would probably have been more completely examined than has as yet been done, for few took more genuine interest in Welsh antiquities of all classes than he did. He was Local Secretary for Merioneth when in 1876, on an attempt being made to preserve from destruction the building in Dolgelley known as Cwrt Plasdydre, on the ground of its being the parliament-house of Owen Glyndwr, he came forward and proved that the tradition was a myth, and that the house could never have been what it was popularly believed to be. Owen did hold a parliament in that town, but this building was not then in existence.

Among Mr. Breese's other literary contributions, the *Kalendars of Gwynedd*, printed in 1873, is the most important. The amount of research and labour was enormous; and as his careful accuracy was one of his most remarkable characteristics, the work is one of very great value. After the Carnarvon Meeting in 1877, arrangements were made for printing the *Diary of Peter Roberts of St. Asaph*, and a transcript was obtained by him for that purpose, Mr. Breese undertaking the editing. Notices of the intended publication were issued, and several subscribers' names were obtained. The state of Mr. Breese's health caused some delay. Unfortunately one of his eyes was subsequently so injured by a gunshot, that after suffering intense agony for a considerable time he was compelled to have it removed, and apparently had recovered from the effects. In the early part of last February he went to London, where he caught cold, which seems to have brought on a serious attack of rheumatic fever, which terminated his existence, as above stated, on the 10th of March.

In the formation of his library he spared no expense. Among other literary treasures is a perfect copy of Salesbury's New Testament, which is in that condition so rare that it may almost be called unique. There are also more than one copy of the original edition of Powell's *History of Wales*, all of them in unusually good condition.

Mr. Breese was, however, not only an able and accomplished scholar as regards the history and antiquities of his native country, but he was one of the most genial and hospitable neighbours, and a kind-hearted and generous friend to all who had the pleasure of his acquaintance; so that the void his decease has made will not be easily filled up, either as regards his large circle of private friends, or the members of this Association. He leaves a widow and six children, the eldest of whom, aged sixteen, was to have been articulated to his father, who was head of the well known firm of solicitors, Breese, Casson, and Co., of Portmadoc; but is now, we believe, in their offices.

It is remarkable that in this same month the Society lost two other members of long standing. On the 14th died THOMAS BRIGSTOCK, Esq., of Welbeck Street, connected with a well known family of that name in South Wales; and on the 22nd he was followed by the Rev. CHARLES WILLIAM HEATON, a younger son of John Heaton, Esq., of Plas Heaton in Denbighshire, and rector of Aston Clinton, one of the most valuable livings in the gift of Jesus College, Oxon., of which he was for many years a Fellow.

We have also the painful duty of recording the death of another old member of our Association, Canon WILLIAMS of Culmington, formerly of Rhydygroesau, who has soon followed his friends and fellow antiquaries, Mr. Wynne of Peniarth, and Mr. Breese of Portmadoc, to the tomb. Canon Williams was for over forty years vicar of Llangadwaladr and rector of Rhydygroesau.

Mr. Williams was the son of the Rev. Robert Williams, perpetual curate of Llandudno, Carnarvonshire, and was born in Conway on the 29th of June 1810. He was educated at Christ Church, Oxford, and took a third class in Classics and his M.A. degree in 1832. The year following he became curate of Llangernyw, and in 1837 vicar of Llangadwaladr. In 1838 to this was added the rectory of Rhydygroesau, near Oswestry, which he held up to 1879, when he removed to Culmington.

As a Welsh scholar and antiquary, Canon Williams took the foremost rank, and his death will be a severe loss to Celtic literature. Up to the last his pen was active, and his literary services to the Principality covered more than half a century. His name to the general reader will be best known as the author of an admirable "Dictionary of Eminent Welshmen", a goodly octavo volume of nearly 600 pages, which was published in its present form in 1852. This popular work first saw the light in 1831, as we gather from a minute in the "Transactions of the Cymmrodorion Society" of that year,

which states that a prize was awarded to "Robert Williams, Esq.," for a "Biographical Sketch of the most Eminent Individuals Wales has produced since the Reformation." This was the year, we may note in passing, in which the Society awarded another prize to a "young Welshman" (Arthur James Johnes, Esq.) for an essay on the "Causes which in Wales have produced Dissent from the Established Church." The Society had Mr. Williams' "Biographical Sketches" translated into Welsh, and "printed for general circulation in the Principality", under the title of "Enwogion Cymru", and the original MS. was ordered to be printed in the fourth Number of the Society's "Transactions". In 1836 the author issued the first special edition of the book with "Addenda", containing notices of Dr. W. O. Pughe, R. Llwyd, and others. This was a thin duodecimo of 115 pages, and was published by Hughes of 15, St. Martin's-le-Grand, London.

Another of Mr. Williams' earlier works was his "History of Aberconwy", which appeared in its original form as an "Historical Account of Conway Castle." In 1865 Mr. Williams gave to the world his "Lexicon Cornu-Britannicum", a dictionary of the ancient Celtic language of Cornwall. This was a quarto volume, of which 500 copies were issued. The work is out of print.

The most recent work of the deceased was the editing and translating of selections from the famous Hengwrt MSS. preserved at Peniarth. In 1876 Mr. Williams issued the first volume of "Y Seint Greal". In the preface he says: "'The Seint Greal' is the most important of the prose works now remaining in manuscript, and it is written in such pure and idiomatic Welsh as to have all the value of an original work, and is well deserving of the study of the writers of the present day, few of whom can write a page without corrupting the language by the copious introduction of English idioms literally translated. Should I succeed in bringing out 'The Greal' without incurring a heavy loss, I shall proceed with the publication of 'The Gestes of Charlemagne', 'Bown o Hamton', 'Lucidar', 'Ymborth yr Enaid', 'Purdan Padrig', 'Buchedh Mair Wryr', 'Evengyl Nicodemus', etc., all of which have been carefully transcribed by me." "The Greal", as we have said, appeared in 1876, in a complete volume, having been first issued in three Parts. Two further Parts, for the second volume, have since been issued.

Mr. Williams' literary labours were by no means confined to his published books. He was one of the Editorial Committee of our Association, and at various times contributed to the pages of the Journal. He also wrote a few papers in the now extinct *Cambrian Journal*. To *Bye-Gones* he also occasionally wrote, and his contributions were always valuable. The publishers of the *Gossiping Guide to Wales* were indebted to him for a thorough revision of the work, and the addition of a Glossary of Welsh words. In 1868 Mr. Williams translated into English the *Book of Taliesin*, for Mr. Skene's *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, and in 1878 he revised several of the notes to Mr. Askew Roberts' edition of the *History of the Gwydir Family*.

Mr. Williams' literary labours speak for themselves, and need no

panegyric. He was a hard-working student to the last, and although over seventy years of age was able to read the smallest type without glasses, and often continued his studies until midnight without fatigue. As a Welsh scholar he has been rivalled, but not surpassed, and his library of Welsh books and books connected with Wales is extensive and valuable. The *Montgomeryshire Collections* of the Powysland Club, published last year, contain a letter from Mr. Williams to Mr. Morris C. Jones, the Hon. Secretary of that Society, urging that the Museum at Welshpool should be made the grand library for the reception of Welsh printed books; and calling attention to the fact that even the most unimportant works may sometimes be useful to scholars, instancing as an illustration of this the extracts from old Welsh almanacks published in *Bye-Gones* by Mr. E. G. Salisbury of Glan Aber, Chester. We wish we could express a reasonable hope that the library of the deceased could be secured to carry out this suggestion. The remains of the deceased gentleman were interred at Culmington on Monday the 2nd of May 1881.

A. R.

Correspondence.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ARCHÆOLOGIA CAMBRENSIS.

EARLY DEFENCES OF HEREFORD AND OTHER TOWNS ON THE WELSH BORDER.

SIR,—A perusal of the interesting paper on the "Castles of England at the Conquest and under the Conqueror", in the last Number, induces me to make a few remarks on the subject of it. Hereford is mentioned in it as one of the towns already walled at the time of the Conquest; but a question arises whether this was a stone wall. The word *murus* would lead to the conclusion that it was. It appears, however, that Earl Harold, after his victory over the Welsh in 1055, returned to Hereford, and surrounded the city with a wide ditch and high earthwork, fortified with gates and bolts or bars (*seris*). It is improbable that a stone wall was added soon afterwards. In *Domesday Book* there are three or four references to the wall of the city of Hereford in the time of King Edward, and a distinction is made between the dwellers within and without the wall. The town within the wall had but a few inhabitants. As the city increased, the dwellings without the wall were probably included within it; but if a wall existed at the time of the Survey, the city appears to have been only partially enclosed in the early part of the reign of Henry III. During the King's stay there, on the 24th September 1223 (Close Rolls, vol. i, p. 564), he directed Brian de L'Isle to let the citizens of Hereford have materials for a hedge and stakes (*claustrum et palos*) of thorns

and maples (*arabulis*) and underwood in his forest of Trivel and Haye of Hereford, to enclose the city where it was not enclosed. A pleashed or tynded hedge of dead wood formed the boundary between the park and Castle of Huntington in 1413. (*Arch. Camb.*, 1870, p. 46.) Shrewsbury and Bridgenorth were, in the early part of the same King's reign, without a sufficient defensive enclosure. In the 2nd Henry III the Sheriff of Salop was commanded to order the men of Salop to adopt every means of fortifying and enclosing their town, and so preventing the King's enemies having free ingress into it. Two years afterwards Shrewsbury and Bridgenorth were authorised to receive certain tolls for three years to enable them to enclose the towns for safety and defence. No mention is made of a wall. The Sheriff of Salop was at the same time ordered to let the burgesses of each town have out of the King's forest trunks of old trees (*zuchis*) and dead wood to make two piles or heaps of wood (*rogos*) to aid in their enclosure. A ditch and mound would necessarily form a part of such a fenced enclosure. (*Close Rolls*, vol. i, pp. 374 and 418.)

Ditches, with the excavations thrown up to form a rampart, were probably in use as defences for many years after the Conquest, where stone was not readily procurable. Writs of murage for enclosing and protecting the town of New Radnor were granted in 42 Henry III and 11 and 18 Edward I. A large portion of the town wall remains standing on the west and south; but it presents the appearance of a wide ditch with a very high turf-covered earthwork rising out of the ditch.

The remarkable earthworks which formed the site of the Castle of Builth (see vol. v, present Series) were probably thrown up under the direction of Reginald de Braose, for separate writs were issued to the Sheriffs of the counties of Gloucester, Worcester, and Hereford, directing them to let Reginald have the aid of men of their respective counties to fortify the Castle of Builth, and throw up earthworks there,—*fossatas et trencheyas*. (*Close Rolls*, vol. i, p. 408.) The employment of men from these three counties sufficiently shews the magnitude of the earthworks undertaken. Judging from the account of works, the walled structure which formed the Castle of Builth may have been built from the 5th to 9th Edward I; but unfortunately these accounts are mere entries of the monies paid weekly for wages and materials, and give no account of the nature of the works.

R. W. B.

TOMEN Y MUR.

SIR,—In September 1880 the Rev. C. H. Drinkwater, of Shrewsbury, wrote to *Bye-Gones* to call attention to a stone lying on a wall at Tomen y Mur, Festiniog, which bore incised marks. Had Mr. Breese lived he could have investigated the matter. The Rev. W. Alport Leighton, in reply to Mr. Drinkwater's query, conjectures the stone to have on it an Ogham inscription, although no mention is made of one at Festiniog in Brash's work; and the only incised stones re-

corded in the locality, figured by Westwood, are Roman sepulchral inscriptions. Perhaps some reader of this may have an opportunity, during the coming season, of reporting on this stone.

Yours, etc.,

A. R.

Croeswylan, Oswestry.

Archæological Notes and Queries.

Is it true that the bilingual inscription at Llanvaughan, near Llan-ybryther, which was visited by the Association during the Meeting at Lampeter, has recently been demolished? Some assurance to the contrary would be very acceptable to all members of the Association. No doubt some of the Local Secretaries can give the information required.

X. Y. Z.

At p. 86 of the Iolo MSS. we have a short tract entitled "Prif Gyfoethau Gwlad Gymry." Some of the boundaries there given are exceedingly curious and interesting. But where is the original? At the bottom of the page Iolo gives one to understand that his version comes from "Llyfr Mr. Cobb, o Gaer Dyf." Who was the Mr. Cobb of Cardiff referred to? and what has become of his book? Can anybody give me a clue to its whereabouts?

J. RHYS.

Miscellaneous Notices.

CAMBRIAN ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION.—The Meeting of the Association for the present year will be held at Church Stretton, under the presidency of C. C. BABINGTON, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A., on Monday, August 1, and four following days. Particulars as to arrangements will be given in the July Number.